

R 3843 9.8

OBSERVATIONS

UPON

Mr. SHERIDAN'S PAMPHLET,

INTITLED,

"COMPARATIVE STATEMENT *of the* TWO BILLS *for the*
better Government of the British Possessions in INDIA."

In a LETTER from Major SCOTT to Sir RICHARD HILL, Baronet,
One of the KNIGHTS of the SHIRE for the COUNTY of SALOP.

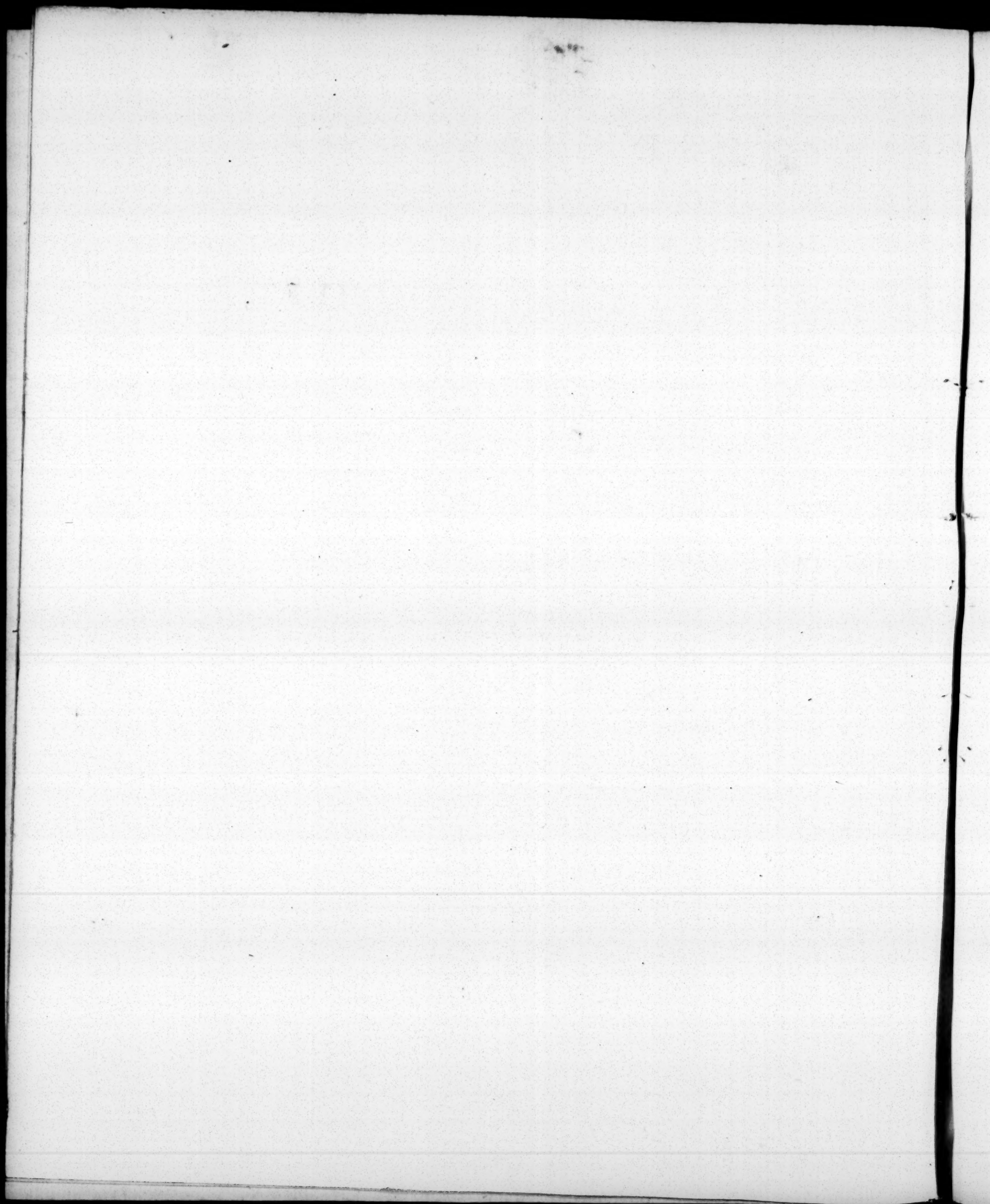
THIRD EDITION,
WITH AN ADDITIONAL PREFACE.

L O N D O N :

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE, OPPOSITE BURLINGTON-HOUSE, PICCADILLY.

MDCCLXXXIX.

[Price Three Shillings.]



P R E F A C E
TO
THE THIRD EDITION.

IT seems to be the general opinion at the present moment, that Mr. Sheridan will in a few days occupy that post in administration which Mr. Dundas now fills, and that he will at the same time succeed him as one of the commissioners for the affairs of India. It becomes, therefore, of infinite importance to the Public to examine, with impartiality, but with freedom, the truth of those opinions which Mr. Sheridan has so industriously circulated throughout England, upon the inefficacy of that law by which India is now governed.

Mr. Sheridan's observations contain *the creed of his party*. I endeavoured, and not unsuccessfully I trust, in my reply to them, to expose the fallacious mode of reasoning

soning which he has adopted ; but many months having elapsed since the publication of the second edition of my reply, I wish to prefix to the third, such remarks as recent and very curious occurrences suggest to me.

If I were to be led away by the pathetic oratory of Mr. Sheridan, if I could be so weak as to suppose it meant any thing, I should really believe that so humane a man could not remain a week in office without bringing forward some plan which should relieve the Court of Directors from the tyranny of the Board of Controul, and millions of our fellow-subjects in India from those miseries under which they are now said to labour. But if I am to argue from *the practice of Mr. Sheridan* and his associates, I shall say, that the only consideration with them will be, whether, as *a party*, they shall gain or lose by attempting to alter the present system.

Every gentleman in England who has attended to the political history of the last five years, will remember, that Mr. Sheridan has differed most materially from Mr. Pitt upon two very important points.

Mr. Sheridan, upon the subject of finance, contends, that to enable us to appropriate a million annually to
the

the liquidation of our debt, we must impose additional taxes to the amount of thirteen hundred thousand pounds, besides making up for the deficiency which the repeal of the shop-tax must occasion, and finding a substitute for the commutation act, which he has invariably reprobated.

The next great subject of difference has been as to the best mode of securing India to Great Britain, consulting at the same time the welfare and happiness of the natives.

It is not possible to suppose opinions more discordant upon any point than Mr. Pitt's and Mr. Sheridan's have been upon this very important one: but we have had nearly the experience of five years to prove, that India can be retained under the dominion of Great Britain, without resorting to the violent and unconstitutional modes which Mr. Fox had proposed. The difference between Mr. Pitt and Mr. Sheridan as to India, is a difference upon *principle*, as much so, and to as great an extent, as that difference *which formerly divided Lord North and Mr. Fox*. I am not a little curious to know how Mr. Sheridan will reconcile it to his conscience to continue a system which he has condemned in all its parts—The arbitrary, unconstitutional authority of the
a Governor

Governor General—his perseverance in that mischievous system of foreign and domestic government which Mr. Hastings had established, and for which we marched thirty-five days last year into Westminster-hall—the arrangement for paying the debts of the Nabob of Arcot by the Board of Controul—the declaratory bill—the military establishments—and, in short, every part of the Company's management, both in India and in Europe. A patriot however, has generally a retreat somehow, or somewhere; and that I may not be supposed to argue without grounds, I shall state a fact, which I think will tend to set in a true point of view the *general principles* of that party which the Staffordshire friend of Mr. Sheridan so sincerely admires.

In several of the late newspapers there has been published a character of Sir John Macpherson, as drawn by an historian of reputation and ability. I subscribe to the justice of the character, and can do it with consistency; for I think with the historian, that Sir John Macpherson had great merit in supporting “the brilliant administration of Mr. Hastings.” But how can Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Burke reconcile their panegyrics in favour of that gentleman with their former conduct?

Sir

Sir John was appointed, through the influence of Lord North, to a seat in the Supreme Council of Bengal, and left England in the year 1781; it being known at the time that he had lived on terms of the strictest confidence with Mr. Hastings. He was scarcely seated at the Council Board in Calcutta, when Lord North was driven from administration, and succeeded by the Marquis of Rockingham. Not many days after that event, the Select Committee of the Commons, of which Mr. Burke was the leading member, presented a Report to the House, which I, who have studied Mr. Burke's style with some attention, will take upon me to say, was written by himself. The object of this Report was to prove, that Mr. Macpherson, as a man of deep intrigue, and agent to the Nabob of Arcot, was a very improper person to be appointed a member of the government of Bengal. If the reasoning of Mr. Burke had been true, the instant removal of Mr. Macpherson would have been an act of propriety; and his appointment would have served as an additional article to that impeachment which Mr. Burke had pledged himself to bring against Lord North. But Mr. Burke did not stop here. Another Report was soon after presented to the House relative to Benares; in which it is stated, in direct terms, that if Mr. Hastings's conduct was meritorious at Benares, Mr. Macpherson's unre-
served

served approbation of that conduct was so too; but if the reverse, *Mr. Macpherson was involved in the criminality.*

This is fair reasoning, and to be comprehended by the common sense of all mankind. When Mr. Burke moved for a certain letter written from Bengal to Bombay, in the month of October 1781, to be laid before the House, he described that letter as a composition filled with doctrines the most dishonourable and destructive that ever were acknowledged by man; that it recommended breach of faith; and proved, much better than any arguments which he could use, the miserable, the crooked, and the dishonest policy of Mr. Hastings, the writer. The letter was produced, with a remark from the *India House*, that it was signed by *Mr. Wheler and Mr. Macpherson only.* The fact was, that *Mr. Macpherson himself wrote the letter*; that Mr. Hastings *never saw it*, being six hundred miles from Calcutta when it was written; and I am sure Sir John Macpherson will be able to defend every sentence in it. I do not mention it with the slightest intention of reflecting upon that gentleman, but in order to show the total want of principle in the party. The severe strictures of the Committee were transmitted by the Court of Directors to Mr. Macpherson; and that gentleman, in a firm, a manly,

a manly, and an elegant address to the Court of Directors in the year 1783, defended himself, and did it to the satisfaction of every candid man. He takes great merit to himself in that address (and very justly) for the services which he had performed. He describes the miserable and distressed state of the Company's affairs on his arrival (at a time when Mr. Sheridan has contended there was no distress)—the unexampled efforts made by Bengal to relieve them—the enormous amount of supplies sent to Madras and Bombay—the improvement of the revenues—and many other points which are now the subjects of public inquiry.

In the month of February 1785, Mr. Hastings resigned. Sir John succeeded him in the government, quitted Bengal, and arrived in England in the year 1787.

If, according to patriotic assertion, there was criminality in Mr. Hastings's conduct to Cheyt Sing, Mr. Macpherson, by his *unreserved approbation, was involved in the criminality*. If there was injustice done to the Begum, if the report of her disaffection was false, Mr. Macpherson, who had every opportunity of investigating the truth or falsehood, and whose duty it was to do so, *is involved in the criminality*; for he has invariably con-

b

tended

tended that she was disaffected ; and his opinion is upon record. If the plea of necessity in 1781 and 1782, be, as Mr. Sheridan asserts, utterly without foundation, Sir John Macpherson is the most barefaced impostor that ever existed. Mr. Hastings felt the necessity, and contented himself with providing for it : but Sir John Macpherson, attacked by patriots at home, and compelled to defend himself, has stated the difficulties, embarrassments, and necessities of the government of Bengal, at the period to which Mr. Sheridan alluded, in terms as strong as the English language can afford. He calls the attention of the Company, in a most striking manner, to the difficulties which they had surmounted ; and says, they may see “ that an united administration, *under the direction* “ *of animated public zeal and great talents,*” have made such exertions “ *as must draw the admiration of their employers.*” Sir John adds, that, before his arrival, the supplies sent to Madras *were great and well-timed* ; that, since his arrival, in little more than one year, that is, from the 30th September 1781 to the 1st November 1782, they amounted to above two millions five hundred thousand pounds ; that the sources of supply were, the increased revenues of Bengal, “ and the severity with which the late “ and subsequent acting-resident at Oude *were called upon* “ *to do their duty to the Company,*” or, in other words,

were called upon to procure that treasure from the Begum, which has given rise to the oratory of Mr. Sheridan.

With all these strong facts before them, what steps did the patriots take? Though, by Mr. Burke's reasoning, Sir John Macpherson *was involved in the criminality* with Mr. Hastings, I am ready to allow that there might be many good reasons for not instituting an inquiry into his conduct: but there can be no one reason, satisfactory to an honest man, for what they have done. If Sir John Macpherson was, in the opinion of Mr. Sheridan, a man of honour and credit, how could Mr. Sheridan take upon him to deny so pointedly what Sir John Macpherson had asserted? If, on the contrary, he is not a man of character and credit, how does he account for having mentioned him in such handsome terms in Westminster-hall? Or how happens it that the party are at present so closely and intimately connected with him? Upon Sir John Macpherson, this reflects no dishonour. His conduct has been open and honourable; his opinions have been avowed most explicitly. But that *the party should now support him with their utmost power*, yet withhold those documents which go *to the complete justification of Mr. Hastings*, if Sir John Macpherson is to be believed, is a conduct so monstrous, that a modern patriot alone could
practise,

practise, and the most bigotted of partizans only can attempt to justify.

If in the last edition of my reply, I had made that use of Sir John Macpherson's authority which it deserves, and which every man of honour will think due to it, Mr. Burke and Mr. Sheridan would have told me, that I might, with as much propriety, have quoted against them the authority of Mr. Hastings himself, since they had themselves declared that the former *was involved in the criminality of the latter*; that a Report had been made to the House of Commons for the purpose of proving that Sir John Macpherson was a man unfit for the station he held, and that the Minister and Directors who appointed him were highly censurable for that act. But now, after I have heard the encomiums which Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Burke have passed upon Sir John, when I know that they are on terms of the strictest intimacy with him, when I know that their party have supported with their utmost strength, his pretensions to a reward for his services, I have a right to claim every advantage which his evidence affords me; and I say with confidence, that if what Sir John Macpherson has declared upon record as to the flourishing state of Bengal, Cheyt Sing's rebellion, and the Begum, is true, the assertions of Mr. Burke and
Mr.

Mr. Sheridan are unfounded in every respect. Such is their dilemma ; and they will get out of it as they can.

Some apology is due from me to Sir John Macpherson, for having quoted his sentiments, without making use of his own nervous and commanding language. But gentlemen who wish to read the several letters and minutes to which I have referred, may find them amongst those documents which I moved for, and which were laid before the House of Commons last year. They are well worthy the attentive perusal of every dispassionate man. I have, however, thought it necessary to extract the following paragraphs of Sir John's letter to the Directors, dated the 30th of March 1783.

“ Having thus presumed to lay before your Honour-
 “ able Court some account of the situation in which I
 “ found your affairs, and of the measures which the
 “ governor general and council pursued to retrieve them,
 “ permit me to state the particular impression under
 “ which I viewed all the transactions in India at such a
 “ crisis.

“ It was my belief that Great Britain, after the opposi-
 “ tion and separation of America, and attacked by so many
 c “ powerful

“ powerful enemies at home and abroad, could neither
 “ exist in her finances nor liberties, if India was not
 “ saved, and our competitors here completely counter-
 “ acted.

“ The separation of America came on by degrees;
 “ and trade, which was our only return from thence,
 “ opened her course through other channels with suc-
 “ cess. America yielded to Britain no landed revenue;
 “ and each colony there had, like the mother-country,
 “ anticipated by debt the revenues of many years. India
 “ was scarcely one year’s revenue in debt. The loss of
 “ such a dominion, if it was to happen, would be sud-
 “ den—would be total. It would be irrecoverable by
 “ any efforts from home. It would prove the instant loss
 “ of millions of individual, and many millions of the
 “ public property. It would at once annihilate those
 “ funds which constitute the subsistence of all the cre-
 “ ditors of the India Company, at home and abroad;
 “ it would fall upon the other funds of the state with a
 “ shock that would strike the remotest land-holder in
 “ Britain, and involve him ultimately in the same fate
 “ with those who lived upon the interest of the public
 “ debts. But, to complete the misery of such an uni-
 “ versal catastrophe, our natural enemies, who were in
 “ force

“ force and alliance upon the spot, would succeed to the
 “ remains of our fortune : from that succession they
 “ could maintain their future tenure, and dictate to Bri-
 “ tain the last terms of despotic superiority.

“ No person but one who had once seen the Carnatic
 “ in its prosperity, and who afterwards saw it in the
 “ misery in which I beheld it, could conceive the reality
 “ of the general scene of distress which I have described
 “ as within the possibility of human events. There I
 “ saw men who supposed themselves, and who literally
 “ were, worth princely fortunes a few years before, ab-
 “ solutely in want of bread. The whole substance of a
 “ great colony, the credit of a mighty Company, and of
 “ ally princes, were extinguished by the sword of deso-
 “ lation. ‘ You may come on shore,’ writes Lord Mac-
 “ artney to me the day I came to anchor in the roads,
 “ but if the gentlemen who are passengers with you
 “ come along with you, they must sleep in the streets.’
 “ And where was at that instant the existence of the
 “ India Company? Only in the revenues of Bengal :
 “ and in Bengal a situation of affairs similar to that
 “ which existed in the Carnatic was to be greatly ap-
 “ prehended ; and had it actually taken place, I leave
 “ it to your own ideas to reflect whether the general
 “ catastrophe

“ catastrophe which I have represented as possible, was
 “ not to be dreaded as a certain consequence. France
 “ looked to such a reversion in your fortune ; and when
 “ you see her armaments prepared upon a scale of force
 “ and expence which is the utmost that her faculties can
 “ send against India, you cannot be too sensibly awakened
 “ to the dangers you have escaped, nor consider those
 “ events as impossible which could alone reimburse your
 “ natural enemies, or give them any prospect of future
 “ advantage from such extraordinary efforts.

“ Such are the dangers to you, and to the public
 “ interests, which proper exertions in the office I hold
 “ might be instrumental to ward off and prevent, or
 “ which inability or wickedness in the same office might
 “ precipitate upon the state. *In the period in which I*
 “ *held the office, and the crisis of that period, no British*
 “ *subject would possess a greater field for averting public*
 “ *evil, or rendering public service.—I became a member*
 “ *of your superior administration of India at a moment*
 “ *when it was a question whether India itself was not to be*
 “ *lost for ever, or greatly saved !”*

In a minute of Sir John Macpherson's, dated the 12th
 of December 1782, in which he also states the immense
 4 exertions

exertions of the government of Bengal, and the improvement of their revenues, at a period of general distress, he concludes with these *remarkable words* : “ It is our duty, “ if not our right, to be confident that the justice of “ our employers, *and of our country, is ultimately un-* “ *erring, even if it should be interrupted by misinforma-* “ *tion.*”

Of the ultimate judgment of *our country*, I have no doubt : but the preceding history so very fully illustrates *the general principles* of Opposition, that I hope it will be remembered when Mr. Fox is a minister, Mr. Sheridan a privy counsellor, and when Mr. Burke, for a third time, hears the sound of the drum in St. James's Park.

To the good sense of the Public, I also submit the fair consideration of those arguments which have been used by Mr. Sheridan and Mr. Fox in favour of a *strong executive government*. Not one of them but applies *forcibly* and *irresistibly* to that cause of which, at present, we seem to have lost sight. In Bengal, for a series of years, we saw a *systematic attempt* to weaken, if not totally to destroy the vigour and exertions of the *executive government*. The language which I used on the subject, though ri-
d
diculed

diculed by Mr. Fox at the time, he has himself used and applied to a country, the arbiter of Europe, flourishing in all its foreign dependencies, and inhabited by a free, and high-spirited people. With the patronage of the army, the navy, and the church, added to the multitude and variety of offices incident to the collection of the load of taxes imposed upon us, to contend that there will not be energy and vigour enough in the government, is a position that at first sight we cannot subscribe to; and more especially when it is the interest of every man who has a stake in the country to support a virtuous administration. But in India, where eighteen millions of people were to be governed by a very few foreigners, the *executive government upon the spot*, and particularly in time of war, could not be too strongly supported.—Mr. Fox says, and truly, If you disapprove the conduct of ministers, there is a constitutional mode of removing them; but do not cramp them; do not form an arrangement which must be productive of weakness, indecision, and delay.—I said, but Mr. Fox laughed at me: at the time, If you disapprove the conduct of *a governor general*, remove him; but do not deprive him of those powers which constitutionally belong to his office, and which are absolutely necessary to be vested in him for the public service.—Mr. Fox, in these piping times of peace, wants

wants peerages, places, pensions, ribbons, and in short, every thing which the executive power has ever had, in order to form a strong administration ; but he thought *a governor general*, who had to conduct a war, to negotiate a peace, to form foreign alliances, and to govern eighteen millions of people, was very unreasonable, because he contended for the exercise of the constitutional rights of his office. The mere name can make no difference. The servant of a company of merchants, if he has an extensive empire to govern, requires at least as much power and authority as the minister of such a free and flourishing country as Great Britain. No man will say, that it is necessary for the existence of the British empire that Mr. Fox should be its minister. The madness of party never went to such a length. But Mr. Fox has in fact affirmed, that to continue minister, he must carry patronage to the utmost extent that the constitution will admit of ; and if any part of it is withheld, he cannot go on. I never argued that Mr. Hastings must of necessity continue governor general of Bengal ; but I repeatedly declared, that if it was thought right to continue him in that office, when every dependency of the British empire was crumbling to atoms, it would be madness to counteract his endeavours to save India, by throwing every possible obstruction in
his

his way. Sir John Macpherson argued in the same manner. He gave Mr. Hastings his entire support ; and he called the attention of Great Britain to what an united administration, *aided by great talents*, had done. The party have at last listened to reason ; and Sir John's merit is acknowledged by every gentleman who belongs to it.

Mr. Sheridan objects with as much vehemence against the powers granted to the governor general, as to any one clause in Mr. Pitt's bill. He calls them despotic, extravagant, and unwarrantable. I have a right to presume that he will attempt to alter the law in that instance, as in others. It is incumbent upon me, therefore, to point out the advantages which the nation has gained by that law, and to state facts in opposition to assertions.

Mr. Hastings left Bengal on the 1st of February 1785, peace being restored to every part of India ; considerable reductions having been made in the army and in the civil service, in consequence of the restoration of peace.

Sir John Macpherson succeeded him in the government. He made further retrenchments ; but continued the same system of collecting the revenues which Mr. Hastings had established.

Earl Cornwallis succeeded Sir John Macpherson in September 1786, and received the government, according to Sir John's account, "in a condition creditable to the Company, and which must be satisfactory to the nation—the native inhabitants of Bengal the happiest and best protected subjects in India—our native allies and tributaries satisfied and confiding in our protection—the country powers emulously aspiring to the friendship of the English—and, from the King of Tidore, towards New Guinea, to Timur Shaw, on the banks of the Indus, not a state but had lately given us proofs of confidence and respect."

Earl Cornwallis was vested with powers which always appeared to me necessary for the good government of India. We now hear of no factious opposition in council—no minutes of controversy. And what is the state of the country?—Oude is governed upon the system laid down "by the former governor general, Mr. Hastings; or, where an alteration has been made, it was with a view of rendering that system more permanent."

Benares pays its full, clear revenue of forty lacks, without an apprehension expressed as to future balances.

The Company's provinces are precisely under the same mode of administration now as when Mr. Hastings and Sir John Macpherson were in Bengal. The settlements are still made annually ; and it has been found impracticable to intrust the collections in every instance to Zemindars.

These are facts necessary to be known, and necessary to be stated, when a set of men are supposed to be coming into power whose blunders or mismanagement deprived us of an empire in the West, and who professedly reprobate that system under which India has been retained, and has flourished.

A subject which, from delicacy, I declined touching upon in the former editions, I can now mention with great propriety. I mean the story related by Mr. Burke of Deby Sing.

Mr. Burke has told us more than once lately, that he never makes an assertion which he is not prepared to prove. Now, I pledge myself, as a gentleman and a man of honour, to prove, if Mr. Burke will call upon me to do so, that every syllable which he uttered upon the subject of Deby Sing, as it respected Mr. Hastings, was

was unfounded, and that he knew it to be so at the time he spoke in Westminster-hall.

I pledge myself also to prove, that the horrid acts which he stated, and which modesty will not permit me to repeat, never were committed at all, as appeared, after the fullest and most serious investigation which was made and recorded, during the government of Sir John Macpherson.

Why Mr. Burke, after he was in habits of intimacy with Sir John, chose to state as facts what that gentleman could have told him were utterly false, I know not.

Why Mr. Burke has never to the present moment acknowledged how grossly he had misled the world, cannot be accounted for upon any principles which will do him credit.

But as my object ever will be to guard the Public against the artful designs of men who once attempted, under the plea of humanity, and a tender regard to the sufferings of millions, to fix their own power on a foundation not to be shaken, I shall be ready even to encounter the abilities of Mr. Sheridan, if he chuses, at any future period,

period, to draw a fresh comparison between the India bills of Mr. Pitt and Mr. Fox.

Gentlemen who candidly consider the facts which I have stated, will determine whether "the general principles of the party," as evinced by their practice, merit all that respect which Mr. Sheridan's country friend professes to have for them. Of the worth and integrity of many individuals of that party, no man can have a higher opinion than myself; and without having the honour of being personally known to the Duke of Portland, it is not possible to be unacquainted with his many excellent qualities: but his Grace may say with great truth, what a very wise man, the late Mr. Pulteney, said before him, "That the Heads of Parties, somewhat like the Heads of Snakes, are urged on by the Tail."

LONDON,
6th February 1789.

JOHN SCOTT.

P R E F A C E
TO THE
S E C O N D E D I T I O N.

SINCE this Letter was published, such new lights have been received from Bengal, that I desire to prefix a few observations to the Second Edition, and to offer one remark upon a part of Mr. Sheridan's pamphlet which did not strike me when I read it before.

Mr. Sheridan says, That had Mr. Fox's Bill passed, and had the King subsequently changed his Ministers, the resignation of Lord Fitzwilliam's Board must have followed instantly; that is, if it was the object of the advisers of the Crown to change the Indian government.

In the Debates upon the Bill of Mr. Fox, I think the only part Mr. Sheridan took, was to quote a passage from
the

the Revelations in reply to Mr. Scott;—but Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke, the grand supporters of that system, did expressly and in pointed terms declare, that they meant to establish a permanent system at home for the government of India, a system that was not to be affected by any changes which his Majesty might make in his Administration. This system, which Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke so much approved, was reprobated by the most enlightened Members of both Houses, as contrary to the first principles of the British constitution; I do therefore affirm, in opposition to Mr. Sheridan, and without a fear of contradiction, that Earl Camden was well founded in asserting, “ That had his Majesty thought proper, by virtue of his “ undoubted prerogative, to have dismissed Mr. Fox and “ his party from his service, we might have seen the King “ of Great Britain and the King of Bengal contending in “ Parliament for superiority.”

I can only quote Mr. Fox's sentiments from Mr. Debrett's Parliamentary Debates; but I appeal to the Gentlemen who heard him, to confirm their accuracy, in so far as they detail his explanations of the principle of his Bill. But for Mr. Burke's sentiments, I can go to a much higher authority, I can quote his own words,
 2 written

written by himself, and sold by Mr. Doddsley for two shillings. Those words, extracted from his Speech, are so expressive and forcible, that they put the matter beyond all dispute.

First Extract.

“ I am sure that the influence of the Crown will by
 “ no means aid a reformation of this kind; *which can*
 “ *neither be originated nor supported, but by the uncor-*
 “ *rupt public virtue of the Representatives of the people*
 “ *of England.—Let it once get in to the ordinary course*
 “ *of Administration, and to me all hopes of reforma-*
 “ *tion are gone.*”

Second Extract.

“ Ministers must be wholly removed from the manage-
 “ ment of the affairs of India, or they will have an influ-
 “ ence in its patronage.”

Third Extract.

“ It is argued as a part of the Bill, derogatory to the
 “ prerogatives of the Crown, that the Commissioners
 “ named in the Bill are to continue for a short term of
 “ years (too short in my opinion), *and because during that*
 a “ *time*

“ *time they are not at the mercy of every predominant*
 “ *faction of the Court.*”

Fourth Extract.

“ When they (the Commissioners) know that they
 “ cannot be whispered out of their duty ; that their
 “ public conduct cannot be censured without a public
 “ discussion ; that the schemes which they have begun
 “ will not be committed to those who will have an in-
 “ terest and credit in defeating them ; then we may en-
 “ tertain hopes. *The Tenure* is for four years, or during
 “ their good behaviour. That good behaviour is as long
 “ as they are true to the principles of the Bill ; *and the*
 “ *judgment is in either House of Parliament.*”

That Mr. Burke, in the Speech from which these Ex-
 tracts are taken, spoke the sentiments, and delivered the
 creed, of his party upon Mr. Fox's Bill, I have not a
 doubt : I do therefore say, with Lord Camden, that the
 King of Great Britain and the King of Bengal might
 have contended for superiority. Mr. Sheridan does in-
 deed allow, that if it was *not* the object of the advisers
 of the Crown to change the Indian government, Lord
 Fitzwilliam

Fitzwilliam and his associates were at liberty to continue in a laborious duty without pay or emolument. I have proved, that the first principle of the Bill was to compel his Majesty to retain them at all events, and I deny that an idea existed in the breast of any man, that they were to serve without pay or emolument. Mr. Sheridan knows that it was proposed to fix their salaries while the Bill was in the House of Commons. Mr. Fox was decidedly of opinion that they ought to have salaries, though he was authorised to declare, that if no salaries were appointed, the Commissioners would serve without any. Mr. Sheridan knows that it was the sense of the House they should have salaries; and had the Bill passed, pay and emolument would have been annexed to the office of a Commissioner.

Having taken notice of the only material point in Mr. Sheridan's pamphlet which I had omitted in my First Edition, I would refer him to the accounts presented to the House of Commons preparatory to the budget:—I would refer him to Lord Cornwallis's letters on the state of the European force in India:—I would refer him to his sentiments of Hyder Beg Khan:—I would desire him to consider what his Lordship has said of the state of Benares, and of the revenues and resources, population and
 8 flourishing

flourishing state of our own provinces ;—all these documents he has an opportunity of perusing, in his character as a Manager from the Commons of Great Britain in the present impeachment. Mr. Dundas's speech I believe he did not hear, but he may have heard of it, and he must know that he told the House and the Public, that the revenues of Bengal and its dependencies amount to more than five millions sterling ; and that they are collected without oppression or injustice. Let me complete that information which Mr. Dundas left incomplete, by telling Mr. Sheridan that those revenues are collected precisely upon the *same principles* that they were collected when Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke talked so much of the tyrannical and oppressive administration of Great Britain in India.

Unless Mr. Sheridan can disprove these facts, the best office he can do to his friend Mr. Fox, is to consign his Bill to oblivion.

JOHN SCOTT.

Cavendish Square,
May 26, 1788.

T O

SIR RICHARD HILL, BARONET,

Esq. Esq. Esq.

DEAR SIR,

THINKING, as I do, that you acquired great popularity in our county, for your strenuous opposition to Mr. Fox's bill, and wishing most sincerely that your constituents may retain the same sentiments of your public conduct at the next election, I am induced to send you a few remarks upon a Letter addressed to a Gentleman in the county that joins to Shropshire, because several copies of the Letter will naturally be circulated amongst us.

Ignorant as I am of the law relative to libels, I trust that the party, which has never displayed any remarkable
4 degree

degree of temper in their political disquisitions, will spare me, if, in speaking of those who have been public men, and hope again to be public men, I should offend against the law. An apprehension of this kind I could not entertain, if the fact which I twice affirmed "in my place" "in the House of Commons," and do still affirm to be true, had not been repeated in a certain publication, and selected by Mr. Fox, as a passage worthy of instituting a prosecution upon. The fact I mean is, that thirteen articles of impeachment against Mr. Hastings had been sent from the Commons to the Lords, without having been perused by any Member of the House, myself and Mr. Burke excepted.

I hope, however, that when a gentleman of Mr. Sheridan's wit, temper, and ability, condescends to become a pamphleteer, and to avow his production, I may entertain no further alarm.

Mr. Sheridan says to his Staffordshire friend, "If this party, whose general principles, fidelity of attachment, and openness of conduct, you own you respect," &c.

I do assure you, Sir Richard, that I am utterly at a loss to know what Mr. Sheridan means by the "general principles"

principles" of opposition; for I suppose "party" to mean opposition. If I have had the use of my senses since my return to England, I will boldly affirm, without the fear of contradiction, that the Party have no "general principles;" but I believe they have two principles of action, self-interest, and a desire of vengeance,—I mean as a Party; as individuals, there are amongst them men of honour, men of genius, and men of pleasure; as acting upon "general principles," I do not know one man of candour amongst their leaders.

When I first saw you in 1782, after an absence of nearly sixteen years from England, you were strenuous in the support of Mr. Fox, who had vowed unceasing hostility against Lord North. I was at that time as constant in my attendance in the gallery, as you were in the body of the House of Commons; and I certainly did hear Mr. Fox lay down several admirable general principles, during the discussions which preceded the resignation of Lord North. How the party carried these general principles into practice, a short detail of the subsequent transactions will prove.

I understood it to have been "a general principle" laid down by Mr. Fox, in behalf of himself and his friends, that they never would consent to act with Lord North,

B

or

or any one member of that cabinet which had brought such unexampled calamities and disgrace upon Great Britain. If ever I heard a general principle laid down, in language so plain and forcible that an idiot could scarcely mistake it, I did hear Mr. Fox lay this down as a general principle; I mean with the exception of the Chancellor, who was stated by Mr. Fox as taking no part in the political measures of his colleagues: and in order to mark the line of proscription the more clearly, he stated, that Mr. Dundas, not being in the cabinet, and then rising into fame through his secret committee, was not a proscribed man.

Can Mr. Sheridan point out a general principle more fully avowed by one half of his present party, than the proscription of Lord North? One of your country gentlemen* went further,—he would not be contented if an atom of the late administration were suffered to remain; and in the month of March 1782 there was a general removal. You will recollect the universal joy that prevailed throughout the nation on that memorable event. Addresses were presented to his Majesty, thanking him for appointing ministers who had the confidence of the people: all men now expected some relief from those calamities with which

* Mr. Powis.

we were almost overwhelmed, but never were expectations so miserably disappointed.

If ever an impartial historian shall be found, he will declare, that of all the weak, blundering, and distracted administrations which have governed this nation, the Rockingham ministry stands as the most distinguished. From this Whig administration we were led to expect instant peace with America, and at least a cessation of hostilities with Holland : but America, bankrupt as she was, spurned at our pacific overtures, though coming from their avowed friends ; and from the Hague we were referred to Paris.

After an administration of little more than three months, remarkable only for national humiliation, for the recall of a successful admiral, and the attempt to remove a successful governor, Lord Rockingham was released from all his cares. Cabal, Dissension, and Intrigue had pervaded the cabinet for some time preceding his decease, and in a few days after that event, the breach amongst the patriots became public. Mr. Fox and his friends resigned, after an unsuccessful struggle for power ; for the first dispatches from New York proved, that the squabble about America was a distinction without a difference. America cared not one straw whether Great Britain declared her independent before the

I

peace

peace or after ; therefore the real cause of separation was, that the nation, that is, Messrs. Burke and Fox thought the Duke of Portland the properest person in the three kingdoms to be at the head of the treasury after the decease of Lord Rockingham. Not being able to effect this point, they resigned ; and possibly I may allow that, in this instance, there was something like “ a general principle.” How to reconcile it with what followed I am utterly at a loss.

During the recess in 1782, Lord Lansdown happily negotiated that Peace which preserved Great Britain, and sent his lordship to an honourable retirement. Is there a man, Sir Richard, who will tell me, he can trace any thing that has the appearance of principle in that combination which drove Lord Lansdown from office ? What was it but a bold, shameless, though a successful attempt to establish power at the expence of all principle ; and who can hereafter trust to the professions of a public man ?

While the ministers of this country were divided amongst themselves, and the country itself experienced the greatest distress, the conduct of Lord North gained him the esteem of all men. His administration had been unfortunate. It was his unhappy lot to see, what I trust will not happen under any future minister. In Lord North's administration,

tion, one hundred millions were added to the national debt ; two considerable armies were captured ; a British admiral was thanked for a victory, in which not even a bomb-ketch was taken ; and an empire was dismembered from Great Britain for ever. If I am to believe Mr. Fox, these unexampled calamities are to be imputed to the imbecillity of Lord North ; if I am to believe Mr. Burke, such calamities could only be expiated upon a public scaffold ; if I am to believe Lord North and his friends, we can trace our misfortunes to the unremitting violence of opposition, and to their encouragement and support of rebellion. I am not competent to pronounce an opinion ; but as our losses were undoubtedly owing either to the one party or the other, it was not very natural to believe, that an enlightened nation would tamely behold two men, who had proceeded to such extremities, cordially uniting, for the purpose of dividing the government amongst their adherents. Until this event happened, the patience and patriotism of Lord North had secured him the esteem of the whole nation. Though strong in the House of Commons, he headed no factious opposition. He bore, with more than Roman firmness, the daily sarcasms of his political adversaries. He was told by Mr. Fox, that the last three days of his political existence were the most

active of his whole administration:—his Lordship made no reply. When Mr. Fox affirmed, that bad as he had conceived the state of the country to be before his entrance into office, he found it infinitely worse upon examination:—Lord North was silent. He was accused by Mr. Fox, at various times, of neglect, inattention, extravagance, and a long *et cetera* of omissions and commissions; but he bore the torrent of eloquence with a temper that united all moderate men in his favour. Many men differed as to his merits and demerits as a minister, but his patriotic conduct in the summer of 1782 was universally applauded. Even Mr. Burke's violence passed unheeded. That Gentleman affirmed, on the last day but one of the session, that such was his bad opinion of Lord Shelburne, he should not be surprised if he were to attempt to call the late minister (Lord North) back to power, *but that the nation would not bear it*. Who the tempter was, Sir Richard, who visited his Lordship and Mr. Fox a few months after these violences, I know not; but by bringing them for a short time into the garden of Eden, he totally ruined them in the public opinion, as men acting upon “general principles;” and they, in common with common men, must be judged hereafter by their actions, not by their professions.

Do

Do not suppose, that I believe it impossible for men who have occasionally differed in parliament to act together for the public service. If it were so, the public business could not be carried on, since, in the general course of things, all public men must at times change from the treasury to the opposition bench; but the difference between Lord North and Mr. Fox was so much a difference upon principle, that they could not unite without giving up every pretension to principle. Mr. Fox was a Whig: Lord North was a Tory. Mr. Fox was the man of the people: Lord North was the minister of the crown.

If any circumstance could add to the general disgust upon this coalition, it was the ostensible ground upon which it was formed. The alarming amount of the national debt, the national losses, and the difficulty of raising money and men was so great, that peace became absolutely necessary. It was not to be expected that Lord North, in whose administration the necessity was created, would have opposed it. It was not to be expected that Mr. Fox, who had declared a few months before, that any peace would be desirable, could vote against it. Yet this was the only plea that offered itself, and it was accepted. Conferences were held, and a ministry was formed,

4

according

according to the general opinion, previous to the first debate upon the peace. Is it extraordinary, that the sovereign and his people should have viewed this coalition as one of those monstrous events which a love of power alone could have accomplished?

You know, Sir Richard, with what symptoms of disapprobation the avowal of the coalition was first received by many country gentlemen. You know that England was left for near six weeks without a government; but the combination was too powerful either for his Majesty or his subjects to resist with success; and in March 1783 the coalition ministers came into office;—powerful from their connections—powerful from the abilities of some of the cabinet, but unpopular amongst the Public.

Thus much was necessary to premise, in order to prove that the ex-party can have no pretensions to “general principles,” and to clear the ground before I take notice of the two celebrated Bills.

We are now come to that period when the administration of Mr. Fox and Lord North was fully established; and I think it will be conceded to me, that after serious reflections upon the measures which produced their appointment,

ment, the people of England might be expected to watch their conduct with more than common caution.

It was not long after the ministry was settled, that an act was committed utterly irreconcilable to every idea of justice or common sense ; I mean the restoration of Messrs. Powell and Bembridge to those offices from which Mr. Barré had dismissed them. This was asserted to have been the sole act of Mr. Edmund Burke. All enquiry into the transaction was prevented by the power of numbers in the late House of Commons ; but it left those who protected Mr. Burke without a pretence to public principle, in the public opinion ; and from that time every act was scanned upon its own merits, independent of that blind and absurd confidence, which it had been the fashion to place in the names of Wentworth, Cavendish, and Bentinck.

In what I have to say upon the subject of India, as leading to the discussion of the merits of the two Bills, I will strive to be as concise as possible. Were I capable of a wish to mislead you, it would be in me the greatest absurdity ; for in the train in which the impeachment of Mr. Hastings now is, I affirm it to be absolutely impossible, either that the transactions in India should be concealed, or that the absurdities, inconsistencies, intrigues,

D

and

and contemptible tricks of those who have taken a part in India discussions, should not be discovered.

In the year 1781, the House of Commons appointed two committees of Indian enquiry. The one was a secret committee, and it received instructions from the House to enquire into the causes of the invasion of the Carnatic. Under this head they went into the political state of India from the year 1770. Of this committee the celebrated Mr. Henry Dundas was the chairman.

The other committee was originally appointed to consider the state of the judicature in Bengal. It obtained an extension of power in the following session, and was entrusted to enquire how India could best be held and governed, both for the happiness of the natives of India and the interest of Great Britain. Of this committee Mr. Edmund Burke was the leader.

As these two gentlemen will be mentioned hereafter, allow me to say a few words of their respective public characters; for I travel not to Beaconsfield, nor to Wimbledon. India has raised Mr. Dundas to an envied, though perhaps not to a lasting greatness. India has precipitated Mr. Burke and his friends from those comfortable

able and valuable offices, in which many men thought them perfectly secure for the remainder of their lives.

Mr. Dundas made his first entry into public life under the auspices of Lord North, to whom he was at all times a bold and determined friend till the coalition was formed. He shared the fate of his Lordship in the month of March 1782, when not an atom of the administration was spared. But though his prospects of preferment were blighted, almost at the moment that he was to receive that office which he now holds, he still retained a considerable degree of consequence, from his appointment as chairman of the secret committee. In that situation he enlightened the House of Commons in the month after Lord North's removal, and had the peculiar honour of extorting from Mr. Burke the strongest expressions of approbation. In the next month (May) he became still more closely connected with Mr. Burke, by adopting his favourite idea, though not upon the grounds which Mr. Burke had wished him to adopt it. In the next month (June) Lord Rockingham's situation became desperate: he died the 1st of July, and Mr. Dundas formed new connections.

Mr.

Mr. Edmund Burke entered into public life at a much earlier period. When I left Shropshire in January 1766, and embarked for India, Mr. Burke was secretary to the Marquis of Rockingham, then First Lord of the Treasury. If common fame is to be credited, Mr. Burke was indebted for that appointment to the recommendation of Doctor Markham, now the Archbishop of York; but from circumstances that have since happened, I can hardly believe the fact to be so, though I have heard it asserted in the most positive terms. With the Marquis Mr. Burke went out of office in 1766. Whether he led the party, or whether he adopted their sentiments, I do not know; but certain it is, that in the year 1770 he published a pamphlet*, which contained doctrines as utterly subversive of the true constitutional rights of the sovereign, as of the subjects of this free country. He contended in substance, that England could not be so well governed as by an aristocratical faction; that men with no other merit than that their fathers were born before them, and bore certain names, had a right to hold the great and responsible situations of this country. That such is the doctrine laid down in Mr. Burke's pamphlet you will perceive, even from a cursory perusal of it; and the doctrine was

* Thoughts on the present Discontents.

literally

literally carried into practice upon the removal of Lord North. Such a doctrine, I am perfectly ready to confess, is exceedingly convenient for that order of men in this country, who, without family or fortune, or any natural interest in Great Britain, have at times filled very high offices in government.

Mr. Burke had been as vehement in opposition to, as Mr. Dundas was strenuous in support of, Lord North. As he had heartily assisted in the expulsion of his Lordship, so he shared largely in the spoils which that expulsion procured. He was made Paymaster General, and a Privy Counsellor—he obtained the creation of a new office for his near relation at Tanjore, that of Paymaster of the King's forces in India, and some comfortable sinecures for relations at home. He came in with his party, and with his party he resigned; but in common with them, in the expectation that the fortress which Mr. Fox had erected * would be so powerfully garrisoned, that they would soon be enabled to make a successful sally upon their enemies.

Mr. Dundas had engaged, when Treasurer of the Navy in Lord Lansdowne's administration, to bring in a bill for

* Mr. Fox's Speech, 7th of July 1782.

the better government of India. This bill was read a first time soon after the coalition ministry was formed. But there was an excellent principle in the bill which Mr. Burke disapproved, and the bill itself was heard no more of. It appears, however, that we are indebted to Lord Lansdowne for the services of Earl Cornwallis, and that he approved of the extraordinary and beneficial powers which have been granted to the Governor General of Bengal. In the summer of 1783, the sword was drawn against Mr. Dundas, and the scabbard thrown away. Lord North had not included him in his share of ministerial arrangements, and he was now deprived of the office of Lord Advocate of Scotland. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Dundas were preparing for a winter campaign in the House of Commons ; and it was not supposed that either Lord Temple or Lord Thurlow would be idle in the Lords. The King's ministers knew perfectly well the unfirm ground on which they stood, and they omitted no attempts to strengthen themselves for the approaching contest ;—a contest on which their political existence depended.

It had been declared from the Throne before the prorogation, that Parliament would be called early, for the purpose of fixing a proper government in India.

The views of the King's ministers were admirably seconded by Mr. Burke in the select committee. Reports were presented to the House, which impeached every part of the Company's government, both in England and in India.

One report was made for the express purpose of proving that the nomination of Sir John Macpherson was in the highest degree improper ; and ground was laid for his removal, and the removal of Mr. Wheler, by an assertion that they were involved in whatever criminality might appear to the House of Commons, in the expulsion of Cheit Sing ; those gentlemen having fully and unequivocally approved of every part of that transaction.

Mr. Stables and Mr. Stewart were the subjects of another report. Our government in India, both foreign and domestic, was arraigned. The incapacity of the Directors, the audacity of the Proprietors, and the incompetence of all to continue to govern that empire they had preserved, form the aggregate of the reports of the select committee.

Unfortunately for the consistency of these worthy gentlemen in one particular, a letter arrived from Mr. Hastings in the month of September 1783, earnestly pressing
ing

ing the Court of Directors to appoint a successor, and notifying his own determination to resign the government. This was an unexpected stroke ;—it interfered very materially with one of Mr. Fox's intended data, which was, that the power and influence of Mr. Hastings, both at home and abroad, were so great, that the strong hand of Parliament was necessary to procure his removal. That part of the letter therefore remained unnoticed on the table of the Court of Directors.

These details are absolutely necessary, preparatory to any discussion of the merits of Mr. Fox's Bill. I admit, with Mr. Sheridan, that it is perfectly fair to consider Mr. Pitt's Bill as it originally stood, and in order to know the true meaning of the parties at the time ; but it is equally necessary to state such material transactions as had a connection with Mr. Fox's intended system.

You perhaps however will wonder that I have not said a word yet about the natives of India. I am convinced, Sir Richard, many respectable country gentlemen seriously believed, that the natives had been miserably harassed and oppressed. Allow me to assure you, that in this assertion there was no truth: allow me also to assure them, that no alteration of any kind has, to this moment,

moment, taken place in any part of our Indian government ; and as Mr. Fox is neither a madman nor a fool, I am confident he would have acted, as to the government of India, precisely as Mr. Pitt has done ; and that Mr. Pitt has done nothing, I shall prove to you from authentic documents.

I must now say a few words as to the conduct of the gentleman to whose pamphlet I am replying. Mr. Sheridan was one of the treasury secretaries under the coalition administration. It is said, that he advised his friend Mr. Fox very strenuously not to consent to an union with Lord North. Experience has proved that the advice was sound and wholesome. This gentleman had formerly been in habits of intimacy with some who professed the sincerest esteem for Mr. Hastings, and who had the best opportunities of knowing his real character. To a gentleman of this description Mr. Sheridan went, on the night preceding the day on which the celebrated India system was to be opened by Mr. Fox. The avowed, the undoubted object of this visit was, to negotiate terms of conciliation with Mr. Hastings.

You heard Mr. Sheridan's speech in the House of Commons, on the subject of the Begums, last year. Certainly,

F

after

after what I knew, that speech could make no impression upon me. The story of the Begums was as well known when Mr. Fox brought in his Bill, as it is at the present moment. The talents, the genius, and the ability of Mr. Sheridan, I undoubtedly admired. He has already favoured us with one of the best comedies in our language; and from the fine touches of the pathetic in his celebrated speech, I have not a doubt but he will succeed equally in tragic fiction, whenever a calm shall prevail in our political horizon. Let me observe, that the Princesses of Oude, who heard a translation of Mr. Sheridan's speech read to them in the month of July last at Fyzabad, were so exceedingly callous, as not to betray the slightest emotion of gratitude, though they expressed strong marks of astonishment upon the occasion.

I perfectly agree with Mr. Sheridan, that Mr. Fox's Bill is plain and perspicuous: an infant may understand it. I know no leading feature in the Bill, except this, that all the power, all the patronage, and all the management of the East-India Company, both at home and abroad, should be taken from those who then held it, and should be transferred in trust for the proper owners, to seven directors nominated by Mr. Fox, not subject to removal at the pleasure of the King. Were we to reason for
seven

seven years upon the Bill, we can make neither more nor less of it. They had the power to appoint, remove, confirm, or displace persons of all ranks and descriptions, either at home or abroad ; and I would ask Mr. Sheridan, whether, to his certain knowledge, several appointments were not virtually made before the Bill had passed through the House of Commons ? I believe it will not be disputed, that General Smith, Mr. William Burke, Mr. Dudley Long, and Mr. Eden, were actually intended to fill high offices in India. In short, the bill went to convey such an immense body of patronage into the hands of a party, and a party which had forfeited every pretension to principle, that (excepting a few very respectable country gentlemen, who had been imposed upon by tales of horrors that never existed) the Sovereign and the nation were justly alarmed. Without using the personal expression which Mr. Sheridan has commented upon, I may be permitted to repeat in the words of Lord Thurlow *—" I wish to see
 " the Crown great and respectable ; but if the present Bill
 " should pass, it will be no longer worthy of a man of
 " honour to wear."

Mr. Sheridan allows, that Mr. Fox's Bill placed no checks upon his directors in the article of patronage ; and

* Parliamentary Debates 1783-4.

it was the fashion to say at the time it was debated, that we could not have a better security than in the personal characters of the directors themselves. This I deny, from a thorough conviction that there are no lengths to which men, violently tinctured by party spirit, will not go in support of their party.

Had we not instances of the abuse of patronage in that administration, sufficient to make us watchful and jealous of their conduct? The appointment of Mr. William Burke—the suppression of all enquiry into the restoration of Mr. Powell and Mr. Bembridge—the advance of a considerable sum to a paymaster, at a time that there was a balance of two hundred thousand pounds due from him to the nation—the appointment of a shoal of writers and cadets by Sir Henry Fletcher, at a time that the service in India was overloaded :—These are a few instances to prove, that it was the principle of the coalition administration to strengthen themselves by every possible means ; and if Mr. Fox's bill had passed, as long as they had preserved India, they would have governed this country.

Mr. Sheridan refers his friend to another bill brought in by Mr. Fox, “which formed an essential part of his plan.”

I declare

I declare to you upon my honour, that I mean to do justice to Mr. Fox, when I say, I believe in my conscience he never read that Second Bill. I have always understood that it was drawn up by Mr. Burke. It never was debated at all in the House; and the clauses are so grossly absurd and ridiculous, they bear such strong marks of a heated and a disturbed imagination, that I cannot for one moment suppose Mr. Fox was a party to that subsidiary Bill.

I will explain very shortly to you the extent to which that Bill went, when coupled with one clause in Mr. Fox's; and I leave you to determine, whether this nation, oppressed with taxes, as it then was, smarting under the consequences of the violence of opposition, or the folly and imbecility of former ministers, could have submitted to the additional burdens which must have been imposed upon them, had the provisions of the several clauses been carried into effect. Allow me to say, that I believe Mr. Fox never seriously intended to do any act that should add to the burdens of the people at home; but if he meant fairly and honourably to execute his own acts, observe to what a length they went.

G

A clause

A clause in his own Bill provided that full and complete justice should be done to every Prince in India who had been injured by the East India Company. Couple this clause with Mr. Burke's declarations, with an article which he brought into the House of Commons against Mr. Hastings, and it will be impossible not to allow, that the Emperor Shaw Allum has a claim upon us for twenty-six lacks of Sicca rupees annually for seventeen years, and to the provinces of Corah, Currah, and Allahabad.

To do him complete justice, he is entitled to all the principal, and to interest at *£10 per cent.* The principal of the tribute alone to this day is nearly five millions sterling, and with Indian interest would now amount to fifteen millions sterling, and as much more is due to him for the provinces of Corah, &c.; which if we do not pay, we acknowledge ourselves to be void of faith and honour, and to have forfeited, as Mr. Burke affirms, all right and title to our possessions in India.

In the Second Bill it is enacted, that no monopolies shall be continued upon any pretence whatsoever.

Under this clause, the Company would have lost a revenue of eight hundred thousand pounds a year, which to this day would be three millions sterling.

By another clause, all presents received for the Company and carried to their account, since the regulating act of 1773, were to be returned. These amount to £263,000.

By another clause, all the lands in Bengal were to be managed by Zemindars. This was a clause calculated to throw the whole government of the country into a confusion not to be described, and would have been attended with a loss of revenue not to be estimated.

By another clause, the government of Bengal was restricted, under any possible circumstances, from increasing their revenues. An imposition so absurd as perhaps was never imposed in any country upon earth.

By another clause, we madly prescribed to protected native Princes, the same rules that we adopted for ourselves; and by another, we restored Cheit Sing to Benares. If his restoration was just, it was also an act of justice to repay him the treasures that he carried off and has expended,

pending, at least one million sterling ; to repay him what was taken at Bedjygur, £ 240,000 ; to give him the difference for six years between 24 and 40 lacks of rupees, above a million sterling more.

By the assertions of Mr. Fox, which I conceive to be tantamount to these clauses, we were bound in honour to repay to the Begum the fifty-five lacks which were taken from her with the consent of Mr. Hastings ; and to refrain from pressing the Nabob Vizier for the balance which he then owed to us, about seventy-five lacks. These two sums amount to £ 1,400,000.

I do therefore affirm, that if Mr. Fox's Bill had passed, and if Mr. Fox was really sincere, and meant with good faith to carry the provisions of his clauses into full effect, and to adhere to the principles which he had laid down in his speeches, he must have borrowed £ 35,763,000 ; since that is the exact sum due from the East India Company, in Bengal only, to the princes of Indostan, or acquired by modes so strongly reprobated by Mr. Fox's Bill. Is it possible for me, Sir Richard, to place in a stronger point of view the folly of these speculatists, than by analysing their own clauses ? I have stated to you, without exaggeration, what

what would have been the consequences had they passed into a law.

I must not be told, that the injured Princes of India would have been satisfied with less than the relief I have stated. Undoubtedly they would ; but then, neither the letter nor the spirit of Mr. Fox's Bill would have been carried into effect, for the Directors are instructed to inquire into all wrongs, to begin their inquiry by reading treaties, and to do full and complete justice in every material article and head of charge specifically, "*and not upon the whole of such charge in gross**."

I will put a case, which will at once distinguish between full and complete justice, and a satisfactory compensation. Suppose I were indebted £30,000, and had very little prospect of paying that sum. Suppose a relation of mine was enabled to give me a temporary appointment upon an extraordinary public event, which promised to turn out a great thing, and enabled me to propose to pay my creditors one-fifth of their demands. Suppose my creditors, knowing my inclination to pay them the whole was not equal to my ability, consented to accept of the composition, I should certainly be exonerated from every possibility of future censure or future

* See the Two Bills to which Mr. Sheridan refers.

H

demand ;

demand ; but Mr. Fox precluded himself from forming
 such an arrangement with Shaw Allum, for the emperor
 would have said to him, “ I read in a British act of
 “ Parliament, that those whom the East India Company
 “ has aggrieved, the British nation will redress. I gave
 “ to your Company, in the year 1765, the most im-
 “ portant and valuable kingdoms of my empire ; they
 “ engaged, in return, to pay me £300,000 annually of
 “ your money, and to guarantee to me three valuable
 “ districts. For sixteen years I have not received a
 “ shilling, and I have lost Corah, Currah, and Alla-
 “ habad. I have been a wanderer in Indostan ; coins are
 “ struck in my name ; prayers are offered to the Divinity
 “ in every mosque in my dominions for Shaw Allum,
 “ the Conqueror of the World. In vain, however, have I
 “ represented my grievances and my distresses to your
 “ Governor Mr. Hastings. In return, I have received
 “ a few trifling presents, but a peremptory refusal either
 “ to pay me the arrears of my tribute or future ad-
 “ vances. My complaints have at last reached the ears
 “ of those who can command Mr. Hastings. I am now
 “ told, that full and complete justice is to be done to
 “ me for each specific wrong. I claim therefore my
 “ provinces of Corah, Currah, and Allahabad, and their
 “ revenues to this day. I claim my arrears of tribute,
 “ with

“ with the interest due upon each year ; and I rate the
 “ whole very moderately at £ 30,000,000 sterling.”

To such an application from the Emperor, what could Mr. Fox have answered ? That this nation would have paid thirty millions, oppressed as we were by taxes, and to a ministry so formed as the coalition administration, is an idea too monstrous to be entertained for a single moment. Mr. Fox must have said therefore in reply, “ I
 “ acknowledge the greatness of the house of Timur ; I
 “ acknowledge that your Majesty, under a British act of
 “ parliament, had an undoubted right to expect full and
 “ complete justice for each specific wrong that you sustained ; but your injuries have been of so deep a nature that
 “ we have not the power to make you complete reparation.
 “ We lament it ; but such is the state of our finances we
 “ cannot impose greater burdens upon the inhabitants of
 “ this island. Great Britain is not much larger than the
 “ province of Oude ; yet we collect, in order to defray
 “ our expences of every denomination, a revenue more
 “ considerable than the greatest of your royal ancestors
 “ ever brought into his treasury from all Indostan. The act
 “ we passed we cannot execute. We are compelled to
 “ acknowledge that there is a wide difference indeed between theory and practice. We are the servants of
 “ your

“ your Majesty, but our engagements we cannot per-
 “ form.” To such an address the Emperor would na-
 “ turally reply, “ Why have you deluded me with false
 “ hopes? I was reconciled to my fate. Mr. Hastings
 “ had told me in the year 1773, that he was remediless;
 “ that the revenue of Bengal was absorbed by the expences
 “ incurred for the support of government; that the ar-
 “ rears due to me he could not discharge; and that,
 “ without a positive order from his own country, he could
 “ make no future payments. He sold my provinces, it
 “ is true; but he told me, that by ceding them to the
 “ Mahrattas, I had rendered that sale an act of necessity.
 “ I submitted to my hard fortune. I knew that my
 “ grants would have been waste paper to the English, un-
 “ less supported by that powerful army with which they
 “ had conquered Bengal. I blamed my own folly for
 “ trusting to the professions of my natural enemies; and
 “ whatever resentment I entertained against Mr. Hastings,
 “ I allowed that he had at least treated me with openness
 “ and sincerity; but from you I have experienced the
 “ deepest of all injuries. You have admitted my right to
 “ my arrears of tribute. You have admitted my title to
 “ the provinces of Corah, Currah, and Allahabad; yet
 “ the only compensation you offer, is an assertion,
 “ that the East-India Company have, by their conduct
 “ to

“ to me, forfeited all right to the territorial possessions in
 “ Bengal. To retain those possessions, after you have
 “ made such an assertion, may justly expose you to the
 “ reproach and ridicule of the world, but it affords me
 “ no relief.”

Do not think, Sir Richard, that I have stated this case too strongly. Read Mr. Fox's Bill and the subsidiary Bill calmly at Hawkstone; read Mr. Burke's printed Speech of the 1st of December 1783; and the Charge intitled, *King's Tribute*; you will then see that I have ample ground for all that I have asserted. I do protest to you, that I cannot conceive human folly and absurdity could be carried to a greater excess in public men, than they are carried in the two Bills brought in by Mr. Fox. Yet Mr. Sheridan desires his Staffordshire friend to read the Second Bill with the First; and he affirms, that, by considering the Two Bills together, he will perceive that system which Mr. Fox meant to establish for the government of India.

I may fairly conclude, that unless Mr. Fox himself had seen the absurdity of his Second Bill, the late House of Commons would have passed it, from their confidence in the man who presented it; for never was any public

I

measure

measure carried more triumphantly through than the First Bill. Mr. Fox then must have repealed the Two Bills, in so far as they concerned the government of India, in six months, or India would have been the greatest clog to Great Britain that she had ever experienced.

Mr. Pitt's Bill followed ; and I am ready to allow, that it wanted that " plainness and precision " which Mr. Fox's friends have pointed out as the leading features of their Bill. Unquestionably nothing can be so easy as for a despot to say to a rich, but a defenceless man, " You have
 " extensive possessions, which you manage miserably.
 " Your tenants have too much power ; their servants again
 " have abused their trust. I understand your affairs better than you do yourself. I have determined to manage them for you ; to appoint, remove, confirm,
 " or displace, every person you now employ. Give
 " me up therefore your title-deeds, the key of your
 " strong box, of your beer cellar, and your pantry,
 " and come to me at the end of every three months ;
 " then I will tell you what reformatations I have made.
 " Do not remonstrate, for I must, and will be obeyed. If
 " you resist, I have a regiment of hussars at hand, and
 " they shall expel you and your servants."

Such was the letter and the spirit of Mr. Fox's Bill ; and in one point only was it misrepresented—I mean, by those who asserted that Earl Fitzwilliam and his Commissioners might have involved this nation in a war in India without the knowledge of the King's ministers. This point Mr. Sheridan has effectually cleared up.

Mr. Pitt's original Bill was never suffered to go into a committee in the late parliament. The Bill which passed in the first session of the present parliament, differs in many essential parts from Mr. Fox's ; and though it has trenched in some degree upon the charter of the East-India Company, yet it certainly treats it with a little more ceremony than the former Bill did.

The professed object of Mr. Pitt's Bill was to provide for the better government of India, without touching the extensive patronage of the Company, either in Leadenhall Street or in India. In fact, the King's ministers had very considerable powers under the act of 1781, had they been pleased to exercise them to their utmost extent. Certain compulsory clauses were brought into Mr. Pitt's Bill originally, relative to the restoration of Zemindars, and to the respective rights of the Nabob of Arcot and the Rajah of Tanjore ; but the minister had the good
sense

sense to reject these clauses upon further deliberation. In truth, Mr. Dundas had framed them before he was very far advanced in Oriental learning.

The fact is, that Mr. Pitt's Bill has left India just as it stood before it had passed into a law; nor has the slightest alteration been made in the government of India, as it will be necessary for me to prove to you hereafter.

Mr. Sheridan certainly states the professed object of the two Bills very fairly, when he says it "was to relieve
" the natives from the many evils which they had ex-
" perience under the dominion of, or in consequence
" of their connection with, the government of the Com-
" pany."

Unquestionably the fact was so; but I deny, in the first place, that the natives of India had experienced many evils under our government; and I affirm, in the second place, that the real object of Mr. Fox's Bill was, to perpetuate the power of the administration to which he belonged, by assuming, through his own Board of Directors, the entire management of Indian affairs both at home and abroad; and this was to be done in violation of the undoubted rights of the Crown.

Mr.

Mr. Pitt contended, that an additional power, must be granted to his Majesty, to enable his ministers to correct the evils which prevailed in the Company's government ; but he contended also, that those evils had been greatly exaggerated indeed by Mr. Fox, and those with whom Mr. Fox acted. It was the professed object of Mr. Pitt, to trench no further upon the chartered rights of the Company than the necessity required ; and he held this true constitutional doctrine, that whatever degree of power was transferred from Leadenhall-street, should be lodged in the Crown, and not in a parliamentary commission.

I was one of that Committee of Proprietors which assembled daily during the progress of Mr. Fox's Bill through the House of Commons. We omitted no means in our power to explain to the Public the true grounds of that Bill, according to our conception of them.

I was one of the Proprietors who waited upon Mr. Pitt with our Chairman, the late Commodore Johnstone, in order to communicate with him upon the terms of the new Bill. We agreed at that time to give up the appointments of the Governor and Commander in Chief in India.

Alarmed at the danger we had escaped, and feeling sentiments of gratitude for those who had defended our rights, we were probably too ready to grant every thing Mr. Pitt required. He held in his hand a paper, and from that paper he read the provisions which he meant to introduce into his Bill. To these we assented, and they were afterwards assented to by a General Court.

This conference was held at Lord Chatham's; and I have mentioned it, because I have heard that Mr. Pitt had solemnly engaged, in a paper or letter under his hand, to agree to certain conditions which he afterwards violated. I know of no separate negociation, nor did I ever hear of any paper or letter, except that which I have mentioned; and it is but justice to Mr. Pitt to declare, that we voluntarily conceded to him more than he afterwards accepted.

In his First Bill, he only retained the nomination of the Commanders in Chief; but in the present Bill, he gave up that point also.

In forming an arrangement in which power was as much as possible to be separated from patronage, it is not possible but that many difficulties must have occurred.

Hence the variety of alterations in the original clauses of Mr. Pitt's Bill, and the debates in Leadenhall-street during its progress through the House of Commons ; but if I can understand the true spirit and meaning of Mr. Pitt's Bill, it continues to the East India Company the entire management of its commerce,—appointments of every kind. It continues to the Directors the power of sending orders to their servants, and the power of dismissal ; but it has empowered his Majesty to appoint a Board of Commissioners, who are ultimately responsible to the nation for the preservation and good government of India, and are vested with efficient powers of controul. I conceive Mr. Dundas to have been perfectly right when he declared India to be the brightest jewel in the British Crown. I conceive Parliament to have acted consistently with the true interest of the nation when it passed an act, by which the King's ministers became responsible for the government of India ; but my imagination cannot possibly go this length, that a Board, appointed by his Majesty, shall be responsible to the King and to the nation for the preservation and good government of India, while we deny them, at the same time, the right of fixing the amount of the military establishments necessary to preserve India. And here it was, that in all the late debates in the two Houses the true ground
of

of the argument was abandoned on all sides. If I may presume to give an opinion where such high authorities have differed, Mr. Dundas should have been tried upon a ground scarcely touched upon. The question was not, whether he had assumed a power which the law had not given him, but whether he had abused that power which the law had vested in him.

Mr. Sheridan has been concise indeed upon this point ; but he has the following passage in his letter : “ The
 “ papers laid before the House of Commons certainly
 “ contain, as you observe, a complete refutation of all
 “ the pretences upon which the sending out the four
 “ regiments to India was defended *as a measure of neces-*
 “ *sity.*” If this fact be true, never minister in England
 merited impeachment more than Mr. Dundas does at the
 present moment. Patronage is certainly extended very
 much, by adding four regiments to the strength of the
 army—a considerable additional expence is entailed upon
 the East India Company by the measure ; and unless it can
 be made out that Mr. Dundas had good and sufficient
 grounds for proposing the plan, if it did originate with
 him, or for consenting to adopt it if it was proposed by
 any other person, he has certainly been guilty of a very
 high crime. Why Mr. Fox and Mr. Sheridan declined to
 debate

debate this question of " necessity" on the third reading of the Bill, I do not know.

It is allowed that the original establishment fixed for Bengal in the year 1785, was lower as to Europeans than the Directors wished it to be. They represented their opinion to the Board of Controul. They called upon Mr. Hastings, then lately arrived, for his sentiments. He was of opinion also, that a larger European force was necessary; and the Board of Controul consented, that three battalions should be added to the number they had before ordered to be kept up. Will any man of common sense tell me, that if they had by law the power, first to fix a small establishment, then, upon better information, to increase it, they had not the power also of making further additions, provided the necessity for making such additions was clearly made out? And upon this point the whole argument turns.

Various instances are brought by Mr. Sheridan, to prove that the Board of Controul have endeavoured to assume powers which the Legislature had not granted to them. In many of these instances I perfectly agree with him; but the Directors have shewn a proper spirit in resisting such undue assumptions; and so far am I from
L adopting

adopting the conclusion which Mr. Sheridan draws from his premises, that I am convinced the late discussions will be attended with the most beneficial effects ; and that in future the East-India Company will be peculiarly attentive to the preservation of those rights which the law has left to them. By Mr. Fox's bill, all our rights were avowedly taken away, and parliament would have been saved all future debates on the subject of India, had that Bill passed into a law.

I have already said, that I put entirely out of the question all that has been said relative to the natives of India. Mr. Fox's Bill contained clauses which he could not have carried into practice, without absolute ruin to Great Britain ; of course he must have repealed them : and probably you will be not a little surprised, when I do assure you, that since Mr. Pitt's Bill passed into a law, there has not been the slightest alteration in the *principles* of that Indian system of government which was so much reprobated, and which Mr. Fox represented as dishonourable to the British nation, and disgraceful to humanity. I can scarcely expect you to give me credit for an assertion so directly opposite to all that you have heard in the House of Commons ; but I will proceed to prove the fact, to your complete satisfaction.

Lord

Lord Cornwallis is most deservedly a favourite with every honest man in Great Britain. He is also universally beloved in India. The Legislature has wisely armed him with those powers, which every man who knows any thing of India has affirmed ought to be vested in the Governor General of Bengal. Mr. Sheridan calls them “despotic and extravagant authorities;” and Mr. Hastings has been violently abused for contending publicly, from the year 1773 to the time the powers were granted to Earl Cornwallis, that such additional authority was necessary to be vested in the person to whom Great Britain entrusted the care of her Indian empire.

Armed, then, with those plenary powers, Earl Cornwallis left England. The system of foreign and domestic government which Mr. Hastings had established, was by many asserted to be criminal; and we have since carried that opinion to Westminster Hall. Lord Cornwallis had been above one year in Bengal, when the last ship, the *Ravenworth*, sailed from thence; and with all the industry that I have employed in order to obtain accurate information, aided by the advantages which the proceedings in Westminster Hall have given to me, I have not been able to discover that his Lordship, in any one instance,

I

has

has departed from *those principles* which were established for the government of Bengal and its dependencies some years ago. I will not fatigue you, Sir Richard, by an Indian detail, nor will I puzzle you by hard names. Indecent indeed would it be, were I to hint at any proceedings now pending, except for the mere purpose of illustrating an assertion which I shall always make, that neither Mr. Fox and his party, nor Mr. Pitt and his friends, knew the actual situation of the natives of India, at the time so much was said of the injuries and oppressions which those natives sustained ; and I think I shall be able to state this in so clear a point of view, that every gentleman will understand it.

I believe you were in the House of Commons when the charge intitled "Furruckabad," was opened by Mr. Pelham. You may recollect in what terms the character of that Prince, as he is called, was described by Mr. Pelham. You may recollect the criminality that was imputed to Mr. Hastings for his attempts to relieve him. Every gentleman, who means to act honestly and honourably through life, was shocked at the shameless profligacy which appeared in the debates of that day. The minister of India, professing to think there was no great matter
in

in the charge, determined however to vote for it, unless it should be given up.

I moved, a few days ago, for a paper which came home by the Ravensworth, and it is printed by order of the House. I have inserted it as an Appendix to this Letter, and earnestly recommend it to your serious perusal. It will convince you, that advanced as we are in our knowledge of India, we have yet much to learn when we go beyond our own provinces. As a history, it is curious and entertaining; but it will no doubt appear a little extraordinary to you, that a Governor should be censured for a fruitless attempt to relieve Muzuffer Jung, the most despicable and abandoned reptile that ever disgraced human nature.

Another very curious paper I also moved for. It is a Minute of Lord Cornwallis, which details the system established between the governments of Bengal and of Oude. This paper is printed by order of the House of Commons, and I have inserted it, to shew you how close Earl Cornwallis has kept to a reprobated system in all that relates to our foreign connections. I might also quote extracts from public documents before the House, which would prove to you, that the same system is

M

continued

continued for the government of Benares, and of all the Company's provinces, which was established when Mr. Pitt first became the Minister; but such documents would swell this Letter beyond all reasonable bounds, and you have them already from the House of Commons.

Mr. Sheridan, with great feeling, laments it “as a teasing circumstance, to hear gentlemen of respectable abilities arguing upon, and drawing comparisons between, the provisions of the Two Bills, upon which it was perfectly obvious they had not condescended to bestow any very minute degree of attention.” Surely, Sir Richard, I may with more justice complain, if I may presume to animadvert upon the conduct of many gentlemen of respectable abilities—how often have I heard it predicted in the House of Commons, that India was inevitably ruined. What different representations have been made of the same people,—of their manners and their customs, at different periods. Women in India, certain gentlemen affirmed last year, were secluded for ever from the sight of men,—immured in a seraglio,—shut out from all communication with the world;—how absurd to suppose that they should excite insurrections or encourage rebellion! In a country, said Mr. Francis, “where women are not allowed a
“ free-

“ free-agency in the most trifling domestic concerns,
 “ it seems extraordinary that a lady (the Bhow Begum)
 “ should presume to talk of appointing ministers and go-
 “ verning kingdoms.”

This year we are totally to erase from our memories every thing we heard in the last. We are now told, that independent of the charge of certain concerns, to which it would be indecent for me to allude, women of high rank in India have great power,—have raised troops,—and are occasionally consulted on affairs of state. I know this last account to be true, but how shall I reconcile it with the favourite arguments of last year?

If any thing further had been necessary to strengthen the truth of my assertion relative to the government in India, the arrival of a ship from Bengal, in less than four months, would enable me to state it. You cannot possibly receive later advices from India ; and it appears, that the system of government which it was the professed object of the Two Bills to change, is continued in all its parts. . . Mr. Pitt has not made Zemindars country gentlemen, nor has he had so much Quixotism in his composition as to transmit an order for the relinquishment of any
 one

one of those advantages, which, in a series of years, we have procured. The stock of the East-India Company has increased greatly in value since the year 1784—I believe from 118 to 176. If Mr. Fox had carried the provisions of his Bill into effect, we should, at this moment, have had neither property nor stock. Unquestionably it may be true, that gentlemen who have no immediate concern in the prosperity of the Company, may still be anxious to promote it.—But it is a circumstance a little remarkable, that of all the men who have displayed such an anxiety for the welfare of the natives, and the national credit in India, not one of them has the smallest personal interest in India stock. Whether their property is vested in houses, lands, mines, or government-securities, I know not; but in Leadenhall-Street they have no assets.

I do not understand the distinction which Mr. Sheridan draws between the Two Bills, in his concluding remark. He states Mr. Fox's Bill to be a measure of experiment, limited in its duration to four years, at the end of which time the Company might have been restored to all those rights and privileges, which, consistent with the ends of good government, they could possess. Mr. Pitt's Bill,

he says, with its explanatory acts, are perpetual laws, and profess to be a final arrangement for the government of India.

I am in the judgment, Sir Richard, of every gentleman who attended the debates upon Mr. Fox's Bill, whether there ever was the slightest idea expressed, or supposed to be entertained by any man living, of restoring to the East-India Company any right or privilege, of any kind, at any time. It was assumed as a fact, that the Directors were incompetent, and the Proprietors audacious. The idea of trusting the management of a great empire to Women and Jews, Turks and Infidels, was scouted, much to the satisfaction of Mr. Fox and his friends; and if any thing could add to the mortification of the Proprietors at large, it was, that not only their property was confiscated, but insult was added to injury. They were reviled, abused, and laughed at; yet now we are seriously told, that their rights and privileges might have been restored to them at the end of four years.

I think I have proved to you, that if the provisions of Mr. Fox's Bill had literally been carried into effect, the whole property of the Company had been very inadequate

N

indeed

indeed to effect such a purpose. A great addition must be made to the national debt, and India would have been a millstone round the neck of Great Britain.

Mr. Pitt's Bill, if I understand it, has left to the East-India Company a vast mass of patronage and power ; nor can I conceive that it tends in the slightest degree to prejudge that great question which must be determined, if our charter is not renewed. But of the renewal of the charter I never entertained much doubt ; and since the debates upon the Declaratory Bill, I am convinced that the independent members of the House of Commons will never submit to any system for India, which shall not make the East-India Company the medium for conducting the government, and dispensing the patronage.

Mr. Sheridan, I think, has collected all the instances of disputes between the Directors and the Board of Controul that are of any moment ; and he says, " The last ineffectual struggle of the Company appears to have been made." I draw a conclusion directly opposite—A law was framed by which his Majesty's ministers became responsible for the preservation and good government of India. The general management of all affairs was left as before, in the hands of the East-India Company, but

subject to the revision and correction of those whom the legislature had made ultimately responsible.

Under this system, no man will say that India has not been well governed. No man will say that the expectations, if not the hopes, of the Ex-party have been gratified. I agree with Mr. Sheridan that nothing can be more dissimilar than the Bills of Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt; yet we were told, that if the former Bill should not pass, India would fall into utter ruin. Look to facts, Sir Richard. What is the state of India at this moment?—The British name respected throughout Indostan, and the subjects of the Company's dominions, if we are to believe Sir John Macpherson, “the happiest and best protected subjects in Asia.”—At home, a vast circulation is kept up,—the tonnage of the Company is doubled,—the stock increases in value,—and tales of horror and ruin are no longer believed.

Since the year 1784, when Mr. Pitt's Bill passed into a law, several differences of opinion have occurred between the Directors and the Board of Controul; the former however have asserted their privileges with firmness, and by compelling the Commissioners to come to Parliament upon the last dispute, the power of the Directors is more accurately

accurately defined ; and I will venture to assert, that if the Commissioners should attempt to encroach upon our privileges, so far from our having made the last ineffectual struggle, we shall be ready to petition Parliament, in confidence that our complaints will be fully redressed.

I will take upon me to affirm also, that ministerial influence in Leadenhall-street has been less since Mr. Pitt's Bill passed, than during the administration of Lord North. His Lordship, in fact, appointed Mr. Hastings four several times to the government of Bengal. He appointed Mr. Wheler, Mr. Macpherson, Mr. Stables, Mr. Stewart, and Sir Eyre Coote, " by a due exertion of the weight of " influence," to posts in the Supreme Council. He sent governors and officers to Madras ; and Mr. Fox once complained in the House, that he was foiled in his attempt to remove his friend the Earl of Sandwich from the Admiralty, by the weight and influence of the East India Company.

Ministers ever have had, and ever will have, and ever ought to have a certain degree of influence in the East India Company ; but Mr. Fox's cure for this evil is curious indeed:—at one sweep he takes the whole
into

into his own hands, which is certainly the most efficacious way of putting an end to Cabal, Intrigue, and Influence.

Mr. Sheridan says, "Theirs only is the triumph who
 "love not the popular part of our constitution; whose
 "credit and whose principles prosper in the abasement
 "of all popular character, &c."

There is such a fund of good sense in the people of England, that every attempt to debase a public character would certainly bring disgrace upon the person who attempted it, provided that public character had acted consistently, and honourably through life; but where we observe the same men differing at different periods, both as to their opinions of men and measures, it is perfectly natural to suppose that the Public will not be influenced by sounds.

There was a time when the Public rested with security upon popular characters. That time, thank God, is past. And let me put it to the understanding of any gentleman, whether this country has not flourished more since the Public gave up their confidence in what were termed popular characters, than it had done before. Popular characters were certainly abased in the year 1783, when, for

the establishment of power, they abandoned principle. The event which then happened might have afforded triumph to those who had had the sagacity to observe how long the Public had been imposed upon by artful and designing men; but the constitution acquired additional strength, by the fortunate detection of false patriotism.

What the "general principles" of opposition are, beyond those which I have mentioned, I protest to you I know not. At the commencement of this century, and until after the year 1745, any man could define the principles of Whigs, Tories, and Jacobites. The latter race of men are happily extinct—but Whigs and Tories are now so mixed together, that no man can separate them; nor can I discover any criterion by which a modern Whig can be distinguished, except this, that he wears a blue coat and a buff waistcoat.

I wish not to be misunderstood in any thing that I have said relative to Lord North. I mean not to impute to him those calamities which happened during his administration, and profess myself utterly unable to determine whether the public resentment ought to fall upon him,
upon

upon those he employed, or upon the members of the most violent and determined opposition that this country has ever known. But the manliness with which Lord North has stood forth on all occasions when his conduct has been arraigned, and his readiness to meet any enquiry from any quarter, ought to shield him from personal reflections; and I believe the gentleman who last uttered them in a certain place, was so sensible of the disgust with which his strictures were received, that he will be more sparing of invective hereafter.

All I contend is, that during Lord North's administration, this country was reduced from the highest prosperity to the deepest distress; that the nation could not patiently suffer the emoluments of government to be divided amongst those who had for many years been in the habit of accusing each other as the authors of the public calamities; and that the India Bill of Mr. Fox was framed for the purpose of giving such a strength to the coalition, as should sustain them in office against all future opposition.

Allow me to refer you to a speech of Mr. Powys while the Bill was under discussion; you will there find

find the same opinion, expressed in more forcible language.

I am, with great truth and regard,

DEAR SIR,

Your very sincere, faithful,

and obedient, humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

CAVENDISH SQUARE,

26th *April*, 1788.

A P P E N D I X, *referred to p. 48*

No. I.

The Right Honourable Earl Cornwallis, Governor General, &c. &c.
Council Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

AS you have declared that the resolutions you have lately formed, relative to Furruckabad, are only temporary, and that you mean to revise them, I think it my indispensable duty to throw every light upon the subject in my power, by laying before your Board whatever information I have been able to collect. This I give in the form of a narrative, which commences with the first establishment of the government of the Patans in these districts, and continues till the present time.

In the reign of Alumgeer, a Patan or Affghan of the Bungneh tribe, named Ayne Khan, an adventurer from Koriston, came and settled at Mow, where many years before various sects had gradually assembled from the same country, and formed a large and populous city, dependent on the Mogul government.

P

find the same opinion, expressed in more forcible language.

I am, with great truth and regard,

DEAR SIR,

Your very sincere, faithful,

and obedient, humble servant,

JOHN SCOTT.

CAVENDISH SQUARE,

26th *April*, 1788.

A P P E N D I X, *referred to p. 45*

No. I.

The Right Honourable Earl Cornwallis, Governor General, &c. &c.
Council Fort William.

MY LORD AND GENTLEMEN,

AS you have declared that the resolutions you have lately formed, relative to Furruckabad, are only temporary, and that you mean to revise them, I think it my indispensable duty to throw every light upon the subject in my power, by laying before your Board whatever information I have been able to collect. This I give in the form of a narrative, which commences with the first establishment of the government of the Patans in these districts, and continues till the present time.

In the reign of Alungeer, a Patan or Affghan of the Bungneh tribe, named Ayne Khan, an adventurer from Koriston, came and settled at Mow, where many years before various sects had gradually assembled from the same country, and formed a large and populous city, dependent on the Mogul government.

vernment. These adventurers maintained themselves, by entering as mercenaries into the service of any power which chose to employ them: they were highly esteemed as Sawars*; and Ayan Khan seems to have acted with them in a subordinate capacity, until his return to his native country, leaving *behind* his son Mahommud Khan, born to him at Mow.

* Cavalry.

Mahommud Khan, when a lad, was much patronised by Koffim Khan, a Jemadar of Sawars, bestowing on him his daughter (who will hereafter be distinguished under the title of Beebie Saheb) in marriage, and leaving him at his decease the possession of all his effects. He now took upon himself the title of Jemadar; and collecting together about two hundred Sawars, entered into the service of the Rajah of Dutteah in Bundelkund. In this service he must have acquired considerable consequence, as it appears, that previous to the decisive battle in the plains of Secundra (A. H. one thousand one hundred and twenty-five, A. D. one thousand seven hundred and thirteen), which placed Furruckseer upon the throne; he had been introduced to that prince by the two Seids, Hoffain Allei Khan, and Abdoolah Khan; and that bringing with him four or five thousand men in arms, such critical support immediately procured him the honour of a khelaat, and a musnud of five thousand. In this action he distinguished himself by the gallantry of his behaviour; and in reward of his services had twelve villages in the Purgunnah of Bozepour conferred upon him in Altumgah, in the name of his wife Bhebee Saheb. These he took possession of, destroying or driving away such of the Rajepoots (the original proprietors of the lands) as gave him any opposition, and here built a city, which, in honour of his patron Furruckseer, was named Furruckabad, and which at this day includes within its walls the aforementioned twelve villages. In this small beginning originates the Soubahdaree of Furruckabad. Mahommud Khan, in the course of about thirty years, by obtaining further grants in Altumgah, and in Jagheer, but principally by farming the lands adjacent to his own, from the Jagurdaran and Mufful-doran of the empire, and gradually disallowing the claims of the individuals to rent, established before his death an estate for his family, yielding a revenue of forty or fifty lacs of rupees, and which the distracted state of the Mogul government enabled him, as it did other Omrahs, to hold in independence.

It may not be improper here to mention, that Mahommud Khan was so sensible of his own power, as to insult Sadit Khan the Soubah of Oude, and
father-

father-in-law of Sufdar Jung; and the letters which passed on this occasion, engendered the hatred which has ever since subsisted between the two families.

On the decease of Mahommud Khan, his son Kaim Khan succeeded to his estate and honours, and remained in quiet administration of them about six years, until the emperor Ahmed Shaw, adopting the opinions of his vizier Sufdar Jung, became jealous of the growing power of the Patans, and wished to render them the instruments of each others destruction. To accomplish this, he affected displeasure at the Rohillas, and gave a sunnud for their country beyond the Ganges in Jageer to Kaim Khan Bungush, ordering him to take possession of it. As the Rohillas were the weaker party of the two, they thought resistance impolitic, therefore agreed to submit, on condition that they might be allowed to remain in the country, and hold their lands in fee of their newly-appointed lord. Kaim Khan was satisfied, but Mahommud Khan, his principal minister, a violent and enterprising man, insisted, that as the Rohillas were not their equals either in courage or numbers, they should be destroyed. They were in consequence attacked, and in the action, most of the leaders of the Furruckabad Patans, together with Kaim Khan and his minister, fell the victims of ambition.

So general an overthrow, the death of so many leaders, and loss of all the military stores, afforded Sufdar Jung (the father of Sujah ul Doulah) the opportunity of satisfying his enmity, by the total ruin of the Furruckabad family; he immediately issued orders to Nevil Race, his naib in Oude, to march and possess himself of the territories and effects of his fallen enemy. But before Nevil Race could arrive, Beebee Saheb, to whose custody was entrusted the whole wealth of the family, had raised to the seat of power, Imam Khan, one of the very numerous progeny * of Mahommud Khan, who had in his zennanah nearly a thousand women, forty or fifty of whom are still living. Nevil Race ably executed his commission in the eastern style. To extract the wealth of the family, he engaged to support the nomination of Beebee Saheb on her agreeing to pay a crore of rupees; she, it is said, more than completed her agreement; but by the fraudulent valuation of the jewels, Nevil Race formed a pretence for claiming a balance of forty lacks, on the non-payment of which, he proceeded to the completion of his commission, by taking possession of the country, and seizing the persons

* 27 sons,
and 55
daughters.

of Beebee Saheb, Imam Khan, four of his brothers, and five of the principal adopted slaves of the family; retaining Beebee Saheb in his own camp, he distributed the men between Delhi and Allahabad, where they were afterwards put to death. One son of Mahommud Khan's, named Ahmed Khan, a miserable cripple from ill health, was neglected as too contemptible to give any further disturbance, and retired to Mow, where afterwards Beebee Saheb, having escaped by stratagem from Nevil Race, also took refuge. On her arrival, she found the inhabitants in a ferment, and ready to undertake the most daring efforts; one of the Mow Patans having killed a Mogul officer of Nevil Race's, they dreaded his vengeance on their whole tribe, and were gathered together for mutual security. Compassion for her, in addition to apprehension for themselves, rendered them desperate. This tumultuous assembly loudly demanded one of Mahommud Khan's descendants; and Rustum Khan, the head of this insurrection, forced on Ahmed Khan the ostensible command; Ahmed Khan took the field under a surkee reed chappah, with about six or seven thousand men, of all tribes of Patans, excepting Rohillas, without guns, without stores. Convinced that Rustum Khan was driving him on to certain destruction, Nevil Race, at this time at Kannoge with a numerous army* and large train of artillery, marched to the neighbourhood of Khadah Gunge, and entrenched himself; here he was surprised whilst performing his religious ceremonies, and ere he had time to put himself at the head of his troops, his lines were forced; and an accidental shot killing him, a general flight ensued, rewarding this desperate attempt with a complete victory, and the acquisition of all the cannon and military stores of the enemy.

* Estimated
50,000, and
100 guns.

The vulgar have a story, that after this astonishing success, Ahmed Khan suddenly recovered his proper form, and became perfectly straight: It is fact, that he recovered his health, but through life was so lame as to be unable to walk.

Ahmed Khan thus saw himself unexpectedly raised to great power, and the former possessions of his family daily falling in to him, the collections of which enabled him to draw to his standard near twenty thousand men, amongst these some Rohillas, who joined him in hopes of plunder; it was not till a year afterwards that any treaty of amity took place between the leaders of the Furruckabad and the Rohilla Patans. With this force he prepared to oppose Sufdar Jung, who was approaching from Delhi with the
imperial

imperial army, said to be upwards of one hundred thousand strong, to punish him, according to the Eastern phrase, for his arrogance. Their armies engaged in the Purgannah of Sahowe, and notwithstanding the great superiority of the Imperialists, Ahmed Khan gained a complete victory: Sufdar Jung himself was wounded on the head, and fled with precipitation to Delhi.

In this battle Rustum Khan was slain, and the bearer of the intelligence lamented as he related the misfortune; but Ahmed Khan smiled and said, "thou hast brought me tidings of a second victory; I am lord, all is well." He immediately acquired and settled the collections of almost all the province of Owde, as far eastward as Lucknow, and the whole of the Doab down to Allahabad, which he marched to reduce; but ere that fortress surrendered, he was recalled to Furruckabad by the return of Sufdar Jung, reinforced by a large body of Mahrattas under Mulhar Row, whose offer of service had previously been arrogantly refused by Ahmed Khan, who boasting of his victories told him to look to the protection of his own country, for he should soon be on the banks of the Nurbuda. Ahmed Khan hastened to Furruckabad, removed his family, and ordered all the citizens, with their effects, to cross to the opposite bank of the Ganges, where Sadulah Khan, and other Rohilla chiefs, together with Mahommud Khan, his own son, had taken post with thirty thousand horse, in such manner as either to afford assistance to their ally, whose army was encamped at Futti Ghur, or defend their own territories.

The army of Sufdar Jung was so numerous as almost totally to surround both parties; and the Rohillas being worsted in an attack they made on the enemy, Ahmed Khan considered his situation no longer tenable, crossed the Ganges with considerable loss in the face of the enemy, and joining the Rohillas, retreated, closely pursued for some days by the Vizier, towards the hills north of Rohilcund, where they secured themselves in their fortresses. The blockade of the Patans continued about two months, in which time Ahmed Khan gained over the Mahratta to his interests, and by his means a treaty of division of the lands, which had been held by Kain Khan, was settled between the three chiefs, but which in no wise affected the situation of the Rohillas, who not being principals in the contention, resumed their former pretensions. Ahmed Khan was restored to the sixteen and half Purgannahs, now forming the Furruckabad districts, which at that time yielded

Q

(exclusive

(exclusive of the city of Furruckabad) a revenue of sixteen lacks of rupees; and this, including the city duties, is at this day reduced, by the distractions of the government, to a sum not exceeding seven lacks, supposing the country in a state of tranquillity. I cannot exactly mark the line of the other divisions, as there has been no regular survey of this country, but both remained with Mulhar Row; for Sufdar Jung, resuming the country he possessed previously to his defeat by Ahmed Khan in Sahour, made over his division to Mulhar Row, to continue with him until the collections should have made good the sum promised for his assistance.

These divisions Mulhar Row retained till the last irruption of the Patan, Shaw Abdallah, A. H. one thousand one hundred and seventy-four, at which time Ahmed Khan, the Rohilla chiefs, and Sufdar Jung, having joined them with their forces, and materially contributed to the defeat of the Mahrattas, obtained as a reward sunnuds from Abdallah, bestowing on them all the lands of the Doab which had been seized by the Mahrattas.

A.D. 1770. This acquisition increased Ahmed Khan's income to forty lacks of rupees, which he enjoyed until A. H. 1183-4. Scindia Tookajee Holkar, and Ramchund Gunuz, with a large force, came down and encamped within a few coss of Furruckabad, demanding restitution of the districts which had been held by Mulhar Row, and the arrears of revenue. Ahmed Khan, now blind, and aged sixty or seventy, was happy to compromise the demand by a cession of the lands claimed, and the ensuing year closed his active life.

1763. It may be necessary here to mention, that Ahmed Khan, previously to Abdallah's last irruption, had been called to Delhi by the vizier Gazzuldeen Khan to support his interests against the famous Rohillah, Nujidbul Dowlah, whom Ahmed Khan superseded as beckshe of the empire. During his residence there, he accumulated riches, and brought off with him the choicest of pictures, and most valuable books in the royal library. He further enriched himself by the acquisition of a considerable part of Kossim Alli Khan's wealth, after his flight from Bengal. The generosity of Ahmed Khan was displayed in his conduct towards his hereditary enemy Sujah ul Dowlah on his total overthrow by the English, and the soundness of his judgment, by the advice he gave him, to seek the friendship of a power he was unable to oppose: perhaps it is to this advice that the family of Oude owe their present honours.

His

His abilities are undoubted, and the wealth he was possessed of at his death is said to have amounted to two crores of rupees. Many of his adopted slaves were very opulent; his Khonsumah, Sujah Dil Khan, had accumulated fifteen lacks of rupees, and flying some time afterwards, married his daughter to Affraifab Khan; and this is the woman who has lately made so distinguished a figure in her defence of Ally Ghur against the arms of Scindia. Sujait Dil Khan himself was kelladar of Agrah when reduced, and they are both now in confinement at Gualiar.

When the Mahrattas forced Ahmed Khan to submit to their demands, they also seized on Etawah and other districts belonging to the Rohillas; both acquisitions remained with them four years, until the disturbances in the Decan requiring the immediate presence of the Sirdars and most of their troops, Sujah ul Dowlah thought it a favourable opportunity to possess himself of the nearly abdicated districts, and therefore brought forward his long dormant claim on the lands conquered by his father from Ahmed Khan, and only made over to Mulhar Row for a stipulated time. Previous to this, the Rohillas had applied to Sujah ul Dowlah to assist them in recovering the above seizure from the Mahrattas, and preventing their further encroachment. 1775.

Of this circumstance Sujah ul Dowlah seems to have availed himself in the claim he made on the Rohillas for forty lacks of rupees; and at this time originates the first treaty, A. H. 1186, between Sujah Dowlah and Muzuffer Jung, then a minor, in which the vizier adopts him as his child, declaring that he comes to recover for him the lands wrested from his father by the Mahrattas; and that, "on the expulsion of the enemy from the country of my child (which is at present in the hands of the Mahrattas) I will deliver and place it in the hands of the said Muzuffer Jung in the same manner as formerly." Yet, after having expelled them, on the ensuing year originates a second treaty, differing materially from the first, apologizing for not acting up to the original contract, having undergone great expences for two or three years in opposing the Mahrattas, and concluding with a promise of a partial restoration, provided Muzuffer Jung continued in every respect agreeably to his pleasure; and at any time when he might be out of his own country, accompanied him with a body of nine or ten thousand followers. In compliance with this article, Muzuffer Jung accompanied the vizier to the Rohilla war; but unable to move or pay his troops, A. D. 1772.

troops, a lack of rupees was lent him by the *vizier*, and in this sum originates the nuzzeranah, since fixed on those Pergunnahs, which are still called the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, and which devolved to him from his father Ahmed Khan. Thus, under pretence of assisting the Rohillas, and the Patans of Furruckabad, in both instances he possessed himself of a large tract of country belonging to each family, and established a further claim on them for the expences of his own acquisition. With respect to Muzuffer Jung, his minority, his imbecillity, his vicious disposition, naturally produced the downfall of the house, which had flourished under the intrepid and vigorous government of Ahmud Khan; and he was sacrificed to the vizier by the leading man of the day, his uncle Khodahbund Khan.

Having brought the narrative to this point, I shall now confine myself to the immediate affairs of Furruckabad, from the accession of Muzuffer Jung to the Seubahdarree, commencing three years previous to the Rohilla war.

A. D. 1771. On the 22d of Rubbee ul Owul, A. H. 1185, Ahmed Khan died; his death is the signal of contention; anarchy pervades the whole country; and there is little more to relate than a succession of intrigues and villanies. Ahmed Khan left two avowed sons by a slave, Muzuffer Jung fifteen, and Dil Dibere, Hemut Khan about eight years old; also a grandson, Saheb Hemut Khan, the child of Mahommud Khan, his only legitimate male offspring.

A variety of interests disputed the succession; but Saheb Hemut Khan's infancy precluded an attention to his claim.

With the news of this misfortune a general alarm spread round the city; the shops were shut, and nearly three thousand persons, the nearest relations, the friends, and the adopted slaves of the deceased, collected in the fort. After violent disputes, Mortuza Khan, the brother of Ahmed Khan, united the suffrages, and received the nuzzers of all present, excepting five, who stood firm for Muzuffer Jung. The Buckshee Tucker ul Dowlah was the head of these, and his ability in the course of the day decided the contest in favour of the present Nabob. He obtained from Muzuffer Jung's mother twenty thousand gold mohurs, with which he immediately began paying the arrears of those Sirdars, and others who swore to support Muzuffer Jung; and, as an incitement to their constancy, he promised them another month's wages in twenty days. Mortuza Khan, deserted by all excepting two friends, was permitted to quit the fort.

About two months after the accession of Muzuffer Jung, Shaw Allum, on his way to Delhi, encamped near to the city of Furruckabad, and received a nuzzer of six or seven lacks of rupees. Not long after Shaw Allum's departure, Ozem Khan, another brother of Ahmed Khan's, made an unsuccessful attempt for the Soubahdarree; Fuker ul Dowlah's activity defeated his schemes; his troops were routed, and the contest terminated in the imprisonment of himself and Shaw Begum, the widow of Kaim Khan, by whose money he had been aided in the insurrection; vexation, and dread of insult, induced her to kill herself. In consequence, her property, to the amount of four lacks of rupees, was confiscated.

Fuker ul Dowlah continued in office fourteen months; but latterly he retained his power more through the apprehension and the ascendancy he had gained, than through the inclination of his pupil; he had incurred his hatred, by reprimanding him for, and restraining him as much as possible from, evil habits and low company. To such intimates Muzuffer Jung often in private expressed his wish to destroy Fuker ul Dowlah, and the spirited measure the Buckshee took to discharge the arrears of the troops, accelerated his destruction. It appears that the treasure of Ahmed Khan already failed; some had been dissipated, some distributed to gain the troops; but for the greater part, fraudulently appropriated by those, in whose charge it had been given by the deceased. Prosperity had rendered him careless, and there were no accounts kept of his wealth.

The expence of the troops which raised Muzuffer Jung to the Soubahdarree was three lacks per mensem, which the country could not support, and they were mutinous for pay.

Fuker ul Dowlah, clearly perceiving the danger which threatened the newly-established government, advised the Nabob to assess the rich servants of his father, whereby the arrears might be paid up, and the army immediately *reduced*. The advice was adopted, but its execution irritated the great Chelahs*, and these easily obtained the Nabob's order for the assassination of his faithful servant, notwithstanding an oath previously pledged for his safety. He was murdered by Numdar Khan, who was the next day sacrificed to the resentment of Dherea Khan.

* Adopted
Slaves.

On the death of Fuker ul Dowlah, Khodahbund Khan, a brother of Ahmed Khan, and one of the enemies of the deceased, took the management

R

of

of the Nabob and his affairs, and exacting a large sum from the son of Fucker ul Dowlah, appointed him to his father's office of Buckshee; his next step was to instigate the troops to mutiny, and, to appease them, persuaded the Nabob to sell a considerable part of his jewels, which he bought himself at the rate of four annas in the rupee of their real value. Previously to this, he had fraudulently procured the Bhegum mother's jewels to be confided to him, which he never returned. The weakness of the government soon become obvious, and all parties seemed resolved to profit by it. The Patans seized and enclosed whatever lands they chose; the aumils absconded, the zemindars resisted, and the revenues of course fell short.

1774. Khodabund Khan, desirous to secure his own power, sought the protection of the vizier Saujah Dowlah, to which he sacrificed the interests of the Nabob. During his administration, the two treaties which I have before mentioned, were *made*, and the Nabob, after several interviews with Saujah Dowlah, was induced to attend him to the Rohilla war, from whence he returned, incumbered with a debt to the Vizier, of three lacks of rupees, and accompanied with two of the Vizier's regiments, to protect him against his own subjects; and such was his improvidence, or the ill advice he received, that he actually employed these troops to expel from the cities of Furruckabad and Mow, those very Patans who had either raised or supported his father, in opposition to the house of Sufdar Jung.

The Nabob, on his return, became dissatisfied, and dismissed Khodabund Khan; and Beenaram, who originally served the Nabob as a common peadah, of two rupees monthly wages, having ingratiated himself with his master, and long previously obtained charge of the Tashick Khonah, succeeded to his office.

1775. But his power was of short duration, for on the death of Soujah Doulah, Netherban Khan, a fugitive Chelah from Furruckabad, and who is now in the service of the king at Delhi, came from Lucknow, appointed by the present Vizier Azoph ul Doulah to the Neabut, in consideration of his having engaged to be responsible for the three lacks of rupees borrowed from Soujah Doulah, and for a nuzzer of fifty thousand rupees to Elaje Khan the minister. On his arrival he confined Beenaram, and completed his engagement with the court of Lucknow, partly from the revenues, partly from a sale of some of the Nabob's jewels.

In the year 1189, another change in the Neabut was effected by the authority of the court of Lucknow. Yar Allee, the servant of Mheerban Khan, was exalted in his room. The first act of Yar Allee was to release Beenaram, taking from him about sixty thousand rupees; and the Nabob Muzuffer Jung then swore upon the Koran, that he would suffer no injury whatsoever. Scarce a week had elapsed, when Mheerban Khan, having paid a nuzzer to the Vizier's minister, was reinstated; and resolved, if possible, to secure his power, by the destruction of his opponents, insinuated to the Nabob, that Beenaram was his enemy, and ought therefore to be punished with death. The Nabob assented, and immediately sent one of his own servants to call Beenaram, who excused himself from obedience, by alleging that Mheerban Khan would kill him; Muzuffer Jung sent back his oath in promise of protection, on which Beenaram relying, came, and offering his head to the Nabob, said, If I have committed any crime, kill me with your own hands, but do not sacrifice me to others. The Nabob then assured him of his friendship, and directing him to remain where he was until his return, which would be immediately, retired into the zenanah, and having secured the door withinside, sent, by a seidance, the order for his death; he was then assassinated in the kassimehal by Mheerban Khan, together with thirteen out of sixteen of his attendants. This massacre was followed by that of Yar Allee, who was instantly sent for, and blown away from the muzzle of a gun.

Shortly after this event, Azoph ul Doulah, with his minister Moktereal ul Doulah, encamped his army on the river side close to Furruckabad, and forced Muzuffer Jung to deliver up two hundred pieces of ordnance, his camp equipage, and elephants*. It was understood to be the Nabob Azoph ul Doulah's intention, to confiscate all the effects, to seize on the country, and send the Nabob Muzuffer Jung a prisoner to Lucknow; but this was averted by the remonstrances, and through the influence, of the English resident, then with Azoph ul Doulah; and as a compromise, a treaty was made, by which the Nawob Muzuffer Jung was bound to pay annually a tribute of four lack fifty thousand rupees to the court of Lucknow. Rhamul Khan, who was employed in this negociation, on presenting a nuzzer of fifty thousand rupees to Mocktar ul Doulah, was appointed naib; and the deposed Mheerban Khan and Sujah Dil Khan, the aumil of Shumshabad, were both thrown into confinement, but released on the payment of twenty thousand rupees each, to Mocktar ul Doulah.

A. D. 1776.

* Said to have loaded 60 or 70 hackeries.

With

A. D. 1776. With the year 1190 commenced, in consequence of the abovementioned treaty, the management by Sezauwals, appointed by the court of Lucknow. The notorious distraction of Muzuffer Jung's government, not admitting a probability of his fulfilling his engagement, there was also a naib on the part of Muzuffer Jung; and henceforward there has been invariably an interference of the English, either directly or indirectly, in the affairs of Furruckabad, and detachments of the Company's troops have been generally employed under the native Sezauwals or Naibs, to enforce the collections. Abdoolah Beg was the first Sezauwal, and Rhamul Khan Naib, but the latter soon gave place to Mortuza Khan, the uncle of Muzuffer Jung, who purchased his appointment at Lucknow; the Nabob was terrified at the exaltation of his opponent, and fled to the Vizier's court; there, assured of Mortuza Khan's support, he returned to Furruckabad. But shortly after, Mortuza Khan was again suspected, and narrowly escaped with his life to Ghode; and his servant and betrayer, Saheb Allum, succeeded, by Muzuffer Jung's appointment, to his office. He held it only two months, when the Nabob, distrustful of him also, caused his assassination by Osman Khan, in the same place where Beenaram fell; and nearly in the same manner, and in the same spot, and under similar *circumstances*, Osman Khan was killed, when Mr. Shee was Sezauwal.

From this time the Nabob, dissatisfied with the restraint he suffered, continually forwarded complaints, and was often himself the bearer of them. These were productive of a frequent change of Sezauwals, and his jealousy, together with the intrigues of his own people at Lucknow, a constant fluctuation of naibs, and the consequent diminution of his revenue; little remarkable happened until the appointment of Mr. Shee, excepting the murder of the unfortunate uncle Mortuza Khan, who, coming from Ghode, in hopes of getting his jagheer restored, was, by order of Muzuffer Jung, attacked within a mile of Futtighur Camp, by Meer Mogul and others, and brought into Furruckabad, desperately wounded; it is affirmed, and generally believed, that his wounds were dressed with poisonous leaves, of which he died in the greatest torment the following day. I may here insert the fate of Saheb Heemut Khan, the grandson of Ahmed Khan, formerly mentioned, though it happened some years subsequent to this period. His promising genius created apprehension, and produced his confinement. It is now reported that he is an idiot; but as he is surrounded with guards, there is no ascertaining the truth.

In

In 1780, Mr. Shee was appointed with "the same allowances and the same powers as were given to the native Sezauwal," and brought back with him from Lucknow the Nabob who had fled thither. To the credit of this gentleman it may be said, that his perseverance and activity bore him through the business of the collections, notwithstanding the opposition of the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, who was encouraged from Lucknow to give him every possible obstruction; and what gave vigour to these efforts, was the supposition that he was not supported by the Presidency; and here it may be remarked, that as there was no direct communication between Furruckabad and Calcutta, it was improbable that the Board should have been well informed of the circumstances which absolutely demanded attention, ere their interference, on the appointment of an English resident, could be of the smallest benefit to the country. The same intrigue that had been exerted against the Hindostanna Sezauwals in fourteen months caused the recal of Mr. Shee, and it made an express article of the Treaty of Chunar, "That no English Resident be appointed, and the present one recalled." Almas Ally succeeded to Mr. Shee, and declaring that he would not be connected with the Nabob Muzuffer Jung, or his servants, allotted for the support of the Nabob and his family lands yielding a net revenue of three lacks of rupees, and further gave security for the payment of the nuzzeranah to Lucknow. Almas Ally had not been in charge above twenty days before complaints were brought forward against him; and the English government again interfered, by whom Meer Soobah Allah, who had resided six years in Calcutta, in character of Muzuffer Jung's Vackeel, was sent to Furruckabad, avowedly to restore the independence of the Nabob. On his arrival he became Naib, took the management of the country upon himself, and affirmed, that he by his influence with the English had freed the Nabob from the Vizier's claim of tribute; this of course was not paid, and the collections of the year were divided between himself, the Nabob, and his servants; yet this gave no satisfaction; the Vizier complained, the Nabob complained, and in the course of nine or ten months he was forced to abscond. Our Government again allowed the Viziers to resume the management by Sezauwals, and fresh intrigues, as heretofore, occasioned frequent removals. In February 1783, a long letter of complaint from Muzuffer Jung was received by the Governor-General, on which it was in agitation to recommend Major Palmer for the management of the affairs of Furruckabad. Causes which are not declared prevented his nomination; and subsequent to this, a disapprobation of the fourth article of the Treaty of Chunar being expressed in the

S

orders

orders from Europe, I was appointed to Furruckabad, where I arrived in February 1784.

The same spirit of intrigue has been exerted in its fullest force during my residence here, as the complaints which have been forwarded through various channels to the Board sufficiently evince. These in the first year deprived me of all authority, and their continuance has obliged me to be absent fourteen months from my station.

I may be allowed to say, that some measures not totally fruitless were adopted last year for the restoration of tranquillity, which would have gradually benefited the country. An increase of revenue could not be expected, that can only arise in a course of years from an increase of inhabitants, consequent to a reliance on a regular and steady government. At present, a long state of anarchy has so perfectly corrupted the minds of the people, that all confidence is lost between man and man, and villainy has so little scandal annexed to it, that there is scarcely an Aumil or a Zemindar in these districts, from whom it is not expedient to take either father, child, or nearest relation, into confinement, as an hostage for the performance of his engagement to government; and even this often proves inadequate to its purpose.

As my letters already before the Board exhibit the distracted state of the country in the present season, a recapitulation may be esteemed unnecessary.

In so long a narrative there may probably be many errors, which I shall be happy if an opportunity be given me to correct. I have endeavoured to obtain the most exact information, and have received that which relates to the present Nabob from those who have been witnesses of the events. I have in no instance exaggerated; and have as much as possible avoided making any comment; and have scrupulously refrained from drawing my conclusion. If the foregoing should prove of assistance to your decisions regarding the future management of this country, my purpose will be fully answered.

I am,

My Lord and Gentlemen,

Your most obedient humble Servant,

Furruckabad,
29th Jan. 1787.

(Signed) J. WILLES, Resident.

A P P E N D I X, *referred to para 45*

No. II.

Copy of a Minute from the Right Honourable the Governor General, in Council; recorded in Consultation, April 20, 1787.

THE variety of business with which, for some time past, I have been constantly engaged, has hitherto prevented me from laying before the Board the substance of my late conferences and negociation with the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan, on the part of the Nabob Vizier Asoph ul Dowlah.

This communication, however, was the less necessary at an earlier period, as the members of this government have been regularly apprised of the objects I proposed to obtain from this negociation, and of the mode in which it was conducted.

The only material difference which has taken place in the engagements between this government and the Nabob Vizier, relates to the brigade stationed at Futty Ghur; the continuance of which body of troops, in the dominions of the Vizier, I deem equally essential to the interest of the Vizier and of the Company. In other respects, *I have nearly adhered to the principles established by the former Governor General Mr. Hastings, and since confirmed*

firmed by the orders of the Honourable the Court of Directors: All the subsidiary arrangements have been formed with a view to strengthen those principles, and render them permanent.

I will not conceal from the Board the expectations entertained by the Nabob Vizier, as communicated by Hyder Beg Khan, that this government would consent to the recall of the Futtu Ghur brigade, agreeably to the stipulations that were formerly entered into for that purpose. The motives which induced me to negotiate for the continuance of it, are fully set forth in the letter which I wrote to the Nabob Vizier, and it is therefore unnecessary now to enlarge upon them; I shall only observe, that I by no means considered a single brigade, stationed at Cawnpore, as adequate to the defence of the Vizier's frontiers; that although it did not appear to me that there was reason to apprehend any immediate attack upon them, the recall of so considerable part of our force as the Futtu Ghur brigade might have precipitated that event; that it is well known that the forces in the service of the Nabob Vizier are under no discipline, and barely sufficient to preserve the internal peace of his dominions; that his own immediate subjects are retained within the bounds of duty and allegiance, by the respect inspired by the Company's troops; that the character of the Vizier, his inconsiderate profusion in his expences, his inattention to provide for them, and his total disregard to every thing but momentary gratifications, rendered it impossible to depend upon his care, either for the protection of his country from foreign invasion or internal commotion; and that although the charges attending the continuance of the brigade at Futtu Ghur exceed the sum we are authorized to claim from him, under the orders of the Court of Directors, the arrangement made by this negotiation renders the additional charge of little importance, when the magnitude of the object is considered.

• About
900,000 l.
a year.
8,100,000 l.
in nine years.

From the accompanying statement of the sums obtained by this government, under different heads, from the Vizier during the last nine Fussullee years, the Board will perceive that the average rate *per annum does not fall short of eighty-four lacks of rupees**, although by the treaties of 1775 and 1781, the Vizeer was bound to pay to this government the sums of 31,20,000 and 34,20,000 only. By the negotiation which I have now concluded with him, the annual demand upon the Vizier is limited to the specific sum of fifty lacks of rupees. This engagement is to take place from the 1st of March 1787.

The

The Board, on a reference to Colonel Harper's letters, will find, that so long ago as the 25th October 1785, he expressed his opinion that nothing would be more agreeable to the Vizier, than to ascertain a fixed sum to be paid by him, instead of the uncertain demands annually charged to his account. It is evident that this must be equally to the advantage of the Company and the Vizier. The sum now settled, agreeable to the most accurate calculations I have been able to make, will be equal to all the expences incurred by the Company, or for the payment of which they are responsible, in consequence of their connection with the Vizier. The material question which first occurred, was the ability of the Vizier to discharge this sum; and, as far as I could judge, from the accounts laid before me of the Oude revenues and public expenditures, I was of opinion that the sum of fifty lacks might be paid by the Vizier, without laying him under the necessity of encroaching upon his convenience or dignity. At the same time, to obviate any objections that might be offered upon this ground, I did not omit stating to Hyder Beg Khan the propriety of a reduction of the irregular troops maintained by the Vizier, if necessary, in order to furnish the sums required for the pay of the Company's forces, stationed for the defence of his dominions. As nothing more has been required from the Vizier than what will be necessary to defray the expences incurred by the Company, his country will not be drained of its specie, as the whole amount which he agrees to pay will be expended in it.

It would have been impossible to have made any adjustment for the payment of the outstanding claims of this government upon the Vizier, in a mode satisfactory to him. The Board will perceive, by the accompanying statement of them, that they consist of articles which have invariably for some time past been objected to by him, or of private demands of individuals, which ought not in my opinion to have ever been admitted into the accounts between the Vizier and the East India Company.

The liquidation of them could only have been effected by the operation of an influence, which, in justice, we have no right to exert, and the exertion of which would have impressed a conviction upon the Vizier and his ministers, that this government was less guided by a regard to the mutual interests of both parties, than to the exaction of whatever, on any pretence, could be made the foundation of a pecuniary claim.

T

With

With a view to inspire the Vizier with a confidence in this government, and to impress an idea in him, that we wished to consider his interests and convenience, as well as our own advantage, I did not hesitate to promise him a renunciation of the accumulated claims of this government upon him, with a reservation of the following articles, which the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan, upon these considerations, agreed to discharge.

1. The arrears actually due to the troops in the Vizier's provinces, up to the period at which the new agreement was to take place.
2. The arrears of the salary to Mr. James Anderson, agreeably to the resolutions of this Board on the 24th January.
3. The arrears of the pension to the Nabob Saadut Ally Khan of the Rohilla stipends, and of the residency at Oude.
4. The sums advanced by the resident of Benares to the Shahzada.

With respect to the renunciation of private claims, I think it necessary to explain to the Board, that I mean nothing more than to disavow every interference of this government for the recovery of them, agreeable to the resolutions already passed on this subject, leaving the individuals who make them, at liberty to endeavour to obtain the payment of them by private applications, unsupported by public influence.

The arguments which I have detailed in support of my proposition for continuing the Futtighur detachment, were communicated to the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan, as far as delicacy to him and the Vizier would admit; and I am happy to assure the Board, that his master's acquiescence in this point was cheerfully and readily promised by him, under a declaration that he relied upon the justice of this government, and its regard for the interests of the Nabob Vizier, to diminish the expences for the maintenance of the Company's troops in his dominions, by the recall of a part of them, whenever policy or convenience would warrant this measure.

In my letter to the Vizier, the Board will perceive that I have made this promise, though I am willing to acknowledge that I do not foresee a period when it can with prudence take place. The obligation of this promise, as I repeatedly explained to the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan, was not meant to extend to any alteration in the disposition or denomination of the troops stationed in the Vizier's territories, or to any trifling diminution of their number.

ber. As long as a force nearly adequate to the present shall be stationed by the Company in the Vizier's dominions, or an expence equal to the present shall be incurred, I consider him bound to pay the annual stipulated sum of fifty lacks of rupees.

The nature of the connection between the Company and the Vizier, evidently points out the necessity of an adherence to that line of policy prescribed by the orders of the Court of Directors, of withholding all interference in the detail of his government, between that and the alternative of avowing an absolute controul over the Vizier's affairs, to the total annihilation of his influence and authority, I see no advisable medium. The orders of the Court of Directors left us no option. But even if a choice had been allowed to us, motives of policy, as well as justice, would have decided my opinion against the latter; and in adopting the former line, I thought it proper, not only to make a liberal avowal of my sentiments, but to give it all the stability it could derive from restrictions, in such points as might eventually tend to infringe it, if left undetermined. These restrictions are clearly detailed in my letter to the Vizier.

The connection between him and the Company now stands upon the only basis calculated to render it permanent. We undertake the defence of his country, and in return, he agrees to defray the real expences incurred by an engagement of so much value to him; the internal administration of his affairs is left to his exclusive management; and my attention will be constantly directed to the preservation of this system, whilst the Vizier continues to fulfil the stipulations into which he has entered.

By this declaration of a non-interference in the detail of the Vizier's government, I do not mean to preclude myself, or this Board, from making representations to him on the subject of his administration, whenever it may be essentially necessary, or of proposing to the Vizier any general arrangement of importance to the interests of both governments. Mutual convenience may render such propositions expedient; and on these grounds only, they ought to be made. The Board will also, I imagine, see a necessity of giving their countenance to the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan, or whoever may be the acting minister of the Vizier. At present he possesses the intire confidence of his master, who is anxious to procure for him the avowed protection of this government. I made no difficulty in assuring the Nabob
Hyder

Hyder Beg Khan, that he might depend upon the support of this government, whilst he served his master with fidelity, governed the country with justice and humanity, and strictly adhered to the engagements formed with the Honourable Company.

The Board are well informed, that the administration of affairs in the Oude government, depends entirely upon the minister, that the Vizier himself takes no farther concern in it, than to give the sanction of his name and authority to the acts of his servants; and that such is his disinclination to every thing that has the appearance of business, that even this formality is not complied with on his part without reluctance. The Vizier himself being profuse to an extreme, and little solicitous concerning the mode of obtaining funds to supply his habits of dissipation, the Company must rather look to the minister than to him for the punctual performance of his engagement; exposed as he is to the effects of caprice and intrigue, it is impossible to determine how long the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan may continue to possess the confidence of the Vizier.

The embarrassments attending his situation are many, as he will find it difficult, if the idea which I have formed of his master's character, is just, to combine the two objects of conciliating the esteem and affection of the Nabob, and establishing a system of government calculated to promote his true interests. I forbear to expatiate further on this subject, and only hope, that no occurrence will ever happen to compel this government to interpose between the Vizier and his acting minister, or to give countenance to the latter against the approbation of the former.

The Nabob Hyder Beg Khan has given me the most unqualified assurances, that he will lose no time in arranging the affairs of the Vizier's government, and establishing them on the best footing. He has not scrupled to acknowledge the necessity of such an arrangement, nor to apologize for having hitherto neglected it. I have urged to him every argument that could induce him to carry these intentions into execution.

After the maturest reflection on the situation of the Furruckabad province, I was convinced of the propriety of withdrawing all interference in the management of it, agreeable to the fourth article of the treaty of 1781. The attempts to promote the prosperity of that country have hitherto been equally offensive to the Vizier and to the Nabob Mozuffar Jung; the former considering

our interference as a breach of the treaty of Chunar; and the latter not only rejecting, but violently opposing, almost every measure of our Resident; I have therefore declared my resolution to recall the Resident, and only deemed it necessary to stipulate with the Vizier that he should not infringe the rights of the Nabob Mozuffar Jung, and to obtain the most explicit assurances from the Nabob Hyder Beg Khan, that these stipulations should be observed, and that under whatever arrangement might be adopted for the affairs of that province between the Vizier and the Nabob, care should be taken to secure the latter a liberal provision. The credit of our government rendered these stipulations necessary, as well as the promise of the Vizier, that the Nabob Dil de leer Khan and others, who had been employed by us in the affairs of Furruckabad, or who had shewn an attachment to this government, should be protected against the resentment of the Nabob Mozuffar Jung, and obtain some provision at his expence.

The Nabob Hyder Beg Khan has also engaged for the continuance of the allowance to the prince, and has offered him an asylum in Oude, if he should chuse to accept it. In fixing the place of residence for the prince, some difficulty may occur, but that is a subject of future consideration. I know that the prince has objections to Lucknow, and is anxious to settle at Allahabad; but there are many political objections to his being indulged in that particular wish.

Consistent with the principles upon which I professed to treat with the Nabob Vizier, it became necessary to relinquish the claims of rights of pre-emption, and of exemptions from duties hitherto made, and exercised by contractors employed to provide the Company's investment in Oude. I made these sacrifices with the less reluctance, as I have every reason to be persuaded, that this system had essentially contributed to the ruin of Oude, whilst it produced a substantial advantage to the commerce of the Company. It appears to me however extremely possible, that the interests of both governments may be promoted, by adopting a more liberal plan. Mr. Barlow, a very intelligent young man, has been dispatched to make enquiries upon the spot concerning the present state of the trade and manufactures of Oude; and if it appears from his report that we can, without injury to our own interests, contribute to the prosperity of that country, it will give me the highest satisfaction.

U

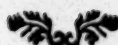
The

The Nabob Hyder Beg Khan has engaged to produce the assent of the Vizier to the propositions stated in my letter to him. The state of the minister's health, as well as the exigencies of the public business, made his immediate return absolutely necessary, and of course prevented the receipt of the Vizier's acquiescence during his residence in Calcutta. I expect soon to receive it; and I hope I do not flatter myself in declaring my opinion that the late negotiation will tend to impress the Vizier with a firm confidence in this government.

(Signed) CORNWALLIS.

A true copy.

(Signed) J. LUMSDEN,
Assistant Secretary.



NEW PUBLICATIONS

For the EAST-INDIES.

PRINTED FOR JOHN STOCKDALE.

1. **T**HE Tribunal, addrested to the Peers of Great-Britain, sitting in Judgment on Warren Hastings. Price 2s. 6d.
2. The Indian Vocabulary ; to which is prefixed, the Forms of Impeachments. 3s. 6d.
3. Mr. Burke's Charges, and Mr. Hastings's Defence. In One large Volume, 8vo. Price 10s. 6d.
4. Minutes of the Evidence, complete. In One Volume, 8vo. Price 7s. 6d.
5. Articles of Impeachment against Warren Hastings, Esq. Price 2s. 6d.
6. The Answer of Warren Hastings, Esq. to the above Articles. Price 4s.
7. A Narrative of the Infurrection at Benares. By Warren Hastings, Esq.
8. The Present State of the East-Indies. By Warren Hastings, Esq. Price 2s.
9. Minutes of Warren Hastings and P. Francis, Esqrs. relative to their Personal Quarrel. Price 1s. 6d.
10. The Speech of R. B. Sheridan, Esq. on the Charge against Warren Hastings, Esq. 3s.
11. Major Scott's Speech in the House of Commons, on Friday the 7th of March 1788, on the Motion for receiving the Report of the Committee on the Declaratory Bill. Price 1s.
12. The Debate on the Rohilla War. 1s. 6d.
13. The Debate on Mr. Hastings's Conduct to Cheyt Sing, at Benares. Price 1s.
14. The Debate on the East-India Relief Bill. Price 1s.
15. Remarks on Colonel Fullarton's View of the English Interests in India. Price 1s. 6d.
16. Reflections on Impeaching and Impeachments. Price 1s.
17. The Impeachment, a Mock Heroic Poem. Price 1s. 6d.
18. A

NEW PUBLICATIONS.

18. A Letter to the Right Hon. Charles James Fox. By an India Proprietor. Price 1s. 6d.

19. Memoirs of the Mogul Empire. By Captain Jonathan Scott. Price 4s.

20. The Bengal Calendar for 1788. Price 1s. 6d.

21. Sir Gilbert Elliot's Charges against Sir Elijah Impey. Price 2s. 6d.

22. The Debates of the Lords and Commons of the last Session. In Three Vols. 8vo. Price 1l. 1s. half bound and lettered.

☞ The above Debates contain a full Account of the Proceedings respecting Mr. Hastings, and the East-India Affairs.

23. A short Account of the Prince of Wales's Island; or, Pulo Peenang, in the East-Indies, given to Capt. Light, by the King of Quedah. Ornamented with an elegant Engraving, representing "A View of the North Point of the Prince of Wales's Island, and the Ceremony of Christening it," taken on the Spot, by Elisha Trapaud, Esq; Captain in the Engineer Corps on the Madras Establishment. Also a Chart, including the Plan of the Island. Price 2s. 6d. or with Mr. Dalrymple's Map, 3s.

24. A Letter to Philip Francis, Esq. from the Committee for managing the Impeachment of Mr. Hastings; with Remarks. The Second Edition. Price 1s. 6d.

25. A Letter from a Gentleman in Bengal to his Friend in London, dated Calcutta, September 8, 1787. Price 1s.

26. The Speech of John Anstruther, Esq. M. P. at a very numerous and respectable Court of Proprietors of India Stock, on the 24th of October 1782. Price 1s.

27. A Refutation of a Pamphlet, entitled, The Answer of Philip Francis, Esq. to the Charges exhibited against him, General Clavering, and Colonel Monson, by Sir Elijah Impey, Knight; and a Fac Simile Copy of the Petition of Nundcomar, with the Proceedings relative to it, in Council at Calcutta. Price 1s. 6d.

28. Also a few remaining Copies of Stockdale's Edition of Shakspeare; including, in One Volume, 8vo. the whole of his Dramatic Works, with Explanatory Notes, compiled from various Commentators. To which are prefixed his Life and Will. Price only 15s.

